A critical examination of the use of drama with offenders in prison and on probation.

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Abstract

This thesis critically examines the potential benefit of using drama with offenders in prison and on probation. In recent years a range of interventions and alternatives to custody have been theoretically evaluated and discussed by various criminologists and sociologists. Despite an array of literature on these matters, the possibility of drama as an intervention has escaped the interest of researchers and publishing houses alike. This thesis aims to redress the balance in detailing the considerable amount of Drama Work being conducted in British prisons and probation centres, by companies and individual practitioners, forming a chronology of such and critically examining the process and results. Through employing drama as a means of addressing offending behaviour, it is possible for Drama Work to play a part, admittedly a small one, in combating recidivism. While proving such may be problematic, this thesis sets out to test this theory, drawing conclusions and making recommendations for the future of Drama Work in prison.

INTRODUCTION

While the use of theatre and drama within the criminal justice system has developed rapidly in recent years, (Thompson, 1998, Peaker and Vincent 1997) there has been remarkably little analysis of its role. Indeed, there has been little in the way of adequate expression as to why it exists within the system at all. It is generally viewed as an additional prison leisure activity or as a management attempt to keep prisoners entertained. It may be seen as a tool to be used in group therapy or a novel way of presenting information. However, it could be argued that drama can be employed as a serious part of the rehabilitation process. While its effectiveness in this capacity is near impossible to prove without following an offender's progress over a lifetime, its contribution to rehabilitation in the case of some offenders is visible.

There is a belief held by Drama Workers and some sections of the criminal justice system that Drama Work can benefit offenders in a variety of ways. It is this belief and the attempt to prove the effectiveness of Drama Work with offending populations that forms the core of this research.

Having worked with offenders on probation and in prison as a Drama Worker[1] for six years, I became dissatisfied with some of the key techniques and approaches used within this area. Through using established methods and studying the work of leading practitioners in the field, I began to assess which approaches could be deemed successful and which appeared inadequate. By researching the existing methods I started to experiment with my own ideas and to structure new ways of working. I have employed the methods I have established through my work with Insight Arts

Trust on a variety of prison and probation projects ranging from evening drama classes for ex-offenders to prison residencies for category A offenders.

As part of this research I shall outline my techniques and provide examples of the work in practice. In particular, I shall focus on 'The Art of Being in the Wrong Place at the Wrong Time' project as a means of examining the nature of the techniques employed by my colleagues and myself. I shall detail previous projects and examine their natures and potential results.

Within this thesis I will use several terms that must be clarified. While the glossary (which can be found in Appendix Six) gives brief explanations of some of the unfamiliar terms used within this research, it seems important to clarify the use of some words at this stage. The term 'drama' will refer to informal, improvisational enactments in a workshop situation. When the term 'theatre' is used, it is referring to the presentation of scripted or devised work to an audience, by an actor. In terms of my own work with and, indeed, by offenders, the loose term 'Drama Work' is employed. This term is in some ways an inadequate expression of the work and does not imply the specifics of the population in question. However, this term has been chosen because it has been widely used by practitioners of Drama Work with offending populations (Dix, 1996).

It is imperative to distinguish Drama Work from Dramatherapy because, despite their similarities and the influence of Dramatherapy on the development of Drama Work, they are not the same.

In his Essays in Dramatherapy, Robert J Landy speaks of Dramatherapy as a hybrid, 'It refers most obviously to two disciplines - drama/theatre and psychotherapy: implying principles and techniques that are common to both' (Landy, 1996:1).

One of the central aims of Dramatherapy is to be therapeutic, to explore the problems and difficulties pertaining to the individual or group involved and attempts to heal. The technique may be used with a wide range of communities, the mentally ill, mentally handicapped groups, the aged, people suffering from terminal diseases such as cancer or AIDS, and physically disabled groups amongst others. When used with offending populations, Dramatherapy focuses primarily on the causes of offending and the concept of rehabilitation. Practitioners of Drama Work may acknowledge a therapeutic aspect to their work and believe in its rehabilitative qualities, however this is not the sole purpose or definition.

Further differences can be found in the methods employed by the two approaches, for example, Dramatherapy uses works of literature and mythology as a basis. A specific training exists in order to become a drama therapist, which is accredited by the Institute of Dramatherapists. This body insists on supervision for practitioners as a requirement of membership that places Dramatherapy firmly among psychotherapeutic practices (Jennings, 1994).

The core hypothesis of this research is that Drama Work is a valuable tool in work with offending populations, both in the community with probation clients, and in prison with inmates. The main objective of the research is to ascertain whether or not this may be true. To test this hypothesis it has been necessary to pose

a number of questions, which have been formulated as research objectives. The study attempts to establish the nature of Drama Work by considering its methods and what changes they effect. It considers how Drama Work may be put to its best effect, including whether it may be better suited to tackling certain areas of offending.

The research hypothesis is centred upon an assumption that valuable work with offenders aims at helping them change their behaviour and lifestyle, to reduce the likelihood of recidivism. The causes of crime are complex and it is clear that no single intervention will reduce offending or be appropriate for all offenders. Therefore the aim is to investigate whether Drama Work may be a valuable addition to a range of interventions rather than providing a universal solution.

CHAPTER ONE: DRAMA WITH OFFENDERS

PRISON

In order to examine the nature of any regime that operates within the prison system, one must examine the system itself. Prison is a unique environment, unlike any other, and differs dramatically from the world beyond its walls. It is therefore imperative to question exactly what a prison is and how a prison operates.

In this chapter the birth of the prison system and the history of punishment are considered. The social and historical implications of such are examined and the history of prison, from its inception to its current form is charted.

The different types of prison which currently exist within the United Kingdom will be discussed, information will be given as to how these operate and the category of offender which they host. An examination of the current regime, socio-political attitude and the changing face of penal institutions in the Twentieth Century will help clarify the context of this study.

Furthermore, I will attempt to chart the history of Drama Work in prison and with probation clients by looking at the significant moments and the formation of companies such as Geese Theatre Company[2], Clean Break[3], Insight Arts Trust and the Theatre In Prison and Probation Centre at Manchester University[4]. I will go on to examine the work of a number of key practitioners within the field, including Saul Hewish[5], Chris Johnston[6], Anna Reynolds[7] and Stephen Plaice[8].

Finally, I will examine the sources of funding available for prison drama activities and analyse how funding may effect the quantity of drama projects in prison.

THE BIRTH OF PRISON

> The prison is the clearest, simplest, most equitable of penalties (Foucault, 1977:232).

On March 2nd 1757, Robert-Francois Damiens known as *Damiens the regicide* was condemned 'to make the *amende honourable* before the main door of the church of Paris' where he was to be taken by cart, naked but for a shirt, holding a burning wax torch to the *Place de Grève*. There on a scaffold, in a public display, the flesh would be torn from his breast, arms, thighs and calves with red hot pincers. His right hand, holding the knife with which he had committed the said offence would be burned with sulphur. On the areas where the flesh had been torn away molten lead, boiling oil, burning resin, wax and sulphur would be poured (Foucault, 1977:3).

> Finally he was quartered. This last operation was very long, because the horses used were not accustomed to drawing: consequently instead of four, six were needed: and when that did not suffice, they were forced, in order to cut off the wretch's thighs, to sever the sinews and hack at the joints... (Foucault, 1977:3).

This was by no means a common execution. The judges had struggled to find a suitable punishment for so heinous a crime and had finally selected the punishment chosen for the previous regicide, Francois Ravaillac in 1610. French authorities had not

quartered anyone else in the intervening years and did not again (Morris and Rothman, 1998).

A French example has been cited as it was in France, that eighty years later Leon Faucher drew up his rules for 'the House of young prisoners in Paris'. The day began at six in the morning in winter and five in summer. Prisoners were woken by drum-roll to dress in silence and make their beds prior to Morning Prayer in the chapel. Nine hours of work would follow with two hours a day devoted to 'instruction'. The instruction period consisted of alternately reading, writing, arithmetic and drawing. It is interesting to note that even Faucher with his first notions of a corrective penal institution considered some form of art imperative. By 7.30 p.m. in summer and 8.30 p.m. in winter, the prisoners were locked in their cells for the night (Foucault, 1977).

Less than a Century separates these two dramatically different forms of punishment. They do not punish the same crime but they each define a particular penal style. The late Eighteenth Century saw new theories on law and crime, 'a new moral or political justification of the right to punish' (Foucault, 1977:7). By the end of the Eighteenth and the start of the Nineteenth Century, physical punishment and torture began to die out, though it re-occurred from time to time momentarily. The body was no longer seen as the central focus of penal repression. Foucault wrote of, 'Punishment of a less immediately physical kind, a certain discretion in the art of inflicting pain, a combination of more subtle, more subdued sufferings...' (Foucault, 1977:8).

Strict capital punishment was implemented rather than the brutal, torturous deaths that preceded.

In England in 1760, a hanging machine was tested for the execution of Lord Ferrer. Later the machine was improved and was put to use in 1783. France favoured the guillotine, first used in March 1792, whereby death was reduced to a visible though instant event. Contact between the law and the body was thereby simplified to a split second though it was still a public event. The public were able to view what happened to a person who committed a serious offence, and thereby learn their lesson (Morris and Rothman 1998).

By the beginning of the Nineteenth Century an age of sobriety in punishment was starting to emerge. During the years 1830-48 public executions, preceded by dramatic spectacles of torture had almost disappeared entirely. This did not occur, of course, instantaneously but rather through gradual change. England was reluctant to give up the notion of public execution. Foucault suggests this was because, 'She did not wish to diminish the rigour of her penal laws during the great social disturbances of the years 1780-1820' (Foucault, 1977:14).

The *amende honorable* was abolished in France in 1791 and, following a brief revival, was finally abolished in 1890 (Foucault, 1977). The pillory was abolished in France in 1789 and in England in 1837 (Morris and Rothman, 1998). In a number of countries including Austria, Switzerland and some states of the USA, prisoners were put to work for public services. Wearing prison clothes, with their heads shaven, offenders were made to clean the streets and repair roads. They became a target of public abuse almost as if society needed to cling to its notion of spectacle. Bombshells chained to their feet ensured no violent reaction or attempted escape by the offender. This practice was abolished by the beginning of the Eighteenth Century (Foucault, 1977).

With the branding of offenders abolished in England in 1834, the focus of punishment moved from the body to the mind. The Nineteenth Century saw a gradual sway in favour of humanity towards the offender. Cruelty, torture and pain were replaced with respect of the individual. After the Middle Ages a procedure of investigation to judge emerged and the question was no longer whether or not the accused had committed the crime nor whether or not that crime was punishable. The authorities began to question the act itself and why it had occurred. Was it a psychotic reaction or a delusional act? Did it happen directly as a result of the offender's environment or could it be due to heredity? Was it simply an instinct? As these questions were asked and answers began to emerge another question became relevant. What is the most appropriate punishment for the crime? In turn, this led to thoughts of the future for the perpetrator and how he may develop. Was rehabilitation possible?

'...A whole army of technicians took over from the executioner, the immediate anatomist of pain: warders, doctors, chaplains, psychiatrists, psychologists, educationalists' (Foucault, 1977:11). The movement towards private punishment and the eventual victory of imprisonment are clearly the most conspicuous changes in the evolution of the penal system (Foucault, 1977).

At the turn of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, a penalty of detention emerged. Offenders were incarcerated in workhouses or forced into hard labour. New legislation defined the power to punish as a general function of society whereby all individuals would be equally represented and treated. Prison as punishment soon assumed a self-evident character. In the early years of the Nineteenth Century it was seen as a novelty yet it became so

central to the functioning of society that it banished all other punishments envisaged by the Eighteenth Century reformers. There seemed to be no alternative to prison with its ultimate punishment, the deprivation of liberty. However, in the codes of 1808 and 1810 it had been intended to go further than simply deprive the offender of freedom. Graduated penalties were to be enforced by offenders being sent to different types of prison where the severity of the punishment would suit the crime (Foucault, 1977: Morris and Rothman, 1998: Garland, 1997).

When the first Home Secretary was appointed with the responsibility for Domestic Affairs and the Colonies, his involvement in the administration of prisons was slight. By 1878 the Home Secretary of the day had been given full responsibility for the administration of all prisons. Today this task is a major component of the work of the Home Office. In the Eighteenth Century, local justices administered houses of correction and gaols. Gaolers made their living by charging for board and lodging and no distinctions were made between prisoners awaiting trial, debtors and convicts awaiting transportation to the American Colonies. Reformer John Howard noted in his historic survey 'The State of the Prisons' published in 1777, that conditions were filthy and unhygienic and that corruption was rife (Edwards and Hurley, 1982).

By 1776, transportation to the new world was interrupted by the American War of Independence and old ships known as hulks were brought into use to house prisoners. These were stationed on the Thames as a temporary measure while the government considered making more permanent provision. In 1779, a new concept of hard labour for prisoners in the hulks was introduced while a plan was set for the provision of two major penitentiaries. There was

considerable delay in building these new prisons and because transportation to Australia became possible in 1787, the pressure on the hulks was relieved. It was not until 1816 that construction of the penitentiary on Milbank, a convict prison, began under the direct supervision of the Home Office. A prison for juveniles was constructed in 1839 at Parkhurst and Pentonville was constructed in 1842. Pentonville was intended as a model on which local authorities could base their schemes. The Convict Prisons Act of 1850 (Edwards and Hurley, 1982) gave the Home Secretary authority to appoint a Director of Convict Prisons, to be responsible for the convict prison service. Hulks continued to be in use until 1859 and, at one time, 70,000 prisoners were held in these ships, many being prisoners of war captured after the defeat of Napoleon (McGowen, 1998).

Home Secretary Robert Peel initiated the Gaol Act (Edwards and Hurley, 1982) in 1823 acting in response to the Select Committee Report of 1820. This was the first of a number of acts that sought to impose uniformity and standards in the running of local prisons. Further acts led to the appointment of five inspectors of prisons and authorised the appointment of a Surveyor General of Prisons introducing controls over the building of new prisons. In the six years following the building of Pentonville, six new institutions were erected providing 11,000 separate cells. The majority of the new prisons were modelled on the design of Pentonville where prisoners were isolated from their fellow inmates. This had a crucial effect on the development of prison life (Edwards and Hurley, 1982).

Despite the legislative activity and the work of penal reformers such as John Howard, conditions in prison continued to be very poor and the attempts to achieve common standards did little. In 1863, a Select Committee of the House of Lords on prison discipline

catalogued the deficiencies of the administration. In 1865, the Prisons Act (Edwards and Hurley, 1982) made it possible for the grant from central government to the local authority to be withdrawn if the provisions of the act were not implemented correctly. Even this step had little effect upon the need to improve conditions in local prisons. In 1877, legislation was passed to transfer responsibilities from the local Justices to the Home Secretary, who also took over the cost of the system from the local ratepayers. The Prison Commission was then formed to manage the detailed administration of the system (Garland, 1990: McConville, 1998).

Sir Edmund du Cane was installed as Chairman of the Prisons Commission and took on the task of organising an efficient and uniform system. Resources and needs were reviewed, staffing considered and the regimes inspected. When the 1877 Act came into operation on April 1st 1878, commissioners closed 38 out of 113 local prisons and within ten years another 15 were closed. The regime in local prisons imposed by du Cane was based on separate confinement. This was justified on the grounds that a prisoner was far more likely to realise the gravity of his wrongdoings if left alone to contemplate his crime. This also reflected the view of prison as a punishment to deter offenders from further criminal activity. For the first month of a sentence, the prisoner was made to sleep on a plank bed and work alone in his cell. The work was designed to be tedious and unconstructive and usually consisted of picking Oakum or working the crank. Some cranks were small and fitted in the cells while others needed several prisoners to operate them and while working with others, talking was strictly forbidden.

Prison food was considered unpalatable and consisted of bread, potatoes and meal. Visits and letters were forbidden for the first

three months and then granted only at three month intervals. Conditions in Convict Prisons were similar and convicts were sentenced to penal servitude not to imprisonment. The first nine months were spent in solitary confinement. The cropped haircut and the broad arrow uniform were deliberately demeaning and there were few facilities for personal hygiene. In the presence of visitors the convict was made to turn his face to the wall (Edwards and Hurley, 1982).

Towards the end of the century, belief in punishment and deterrence as the central object of imprisonment, and confidence in the separate system as an effective way to deal with prisoners, was questioned. A change of attitude towards prisoners was reflected in the report of the Gladstone Committee (cf. Morris and Rothman, 1998:141-146) in 1895. Deterrence and reformation were cited in the report as the principle aims. The committee recommended that unproductive labour such as the crank and treadmill should be abolished. It was concluded that labour in association was healthier than labour in isolation. The committee also recommended that efforts should be made to classify prisoners, books should be made available and education facilities extended. They suggested that rules regarding visits should be acted upon with discretion and not rigidly applied as they previously had been. It was advised that the initial period of solitary confinement should be reduced (Morris and Rothman 1998).

Furthermore, the committee recommended a new type of prison to house juvenile offenders up to the age of 23 years with emphasis on individual treatment and post-release follow-up supervision. A new sentence for habitual criminals was recommended wherein prisoners would be held for a much longer period of time to act as a deterrent. The committee suggested that after-care for released

prisoners should be made available and that the bodies concerned should establish contact with prisoners prior to release from custody. The Gladstone Report remained the definitive document on penal policy for virtually the next half-century, although its recommendations were implemented gradually (Morris and Rothman 1998).

Changes in the conditions of labour occurred, with labour in association being introduced where possible, phasing out Oakum picking, the crank and the treadmill. Provision was made for the courts to classify those sentenced to imprisonment without hard labour into three divisions. This reflected a feeling of the time that the sentencing court and not the executive should decide upon the conditions of imprisonment for the offender. However, in most cases it was only the most severe division that was implemented (Edwards and Hurley, 1982).

The development of new juvenile institutions was slow to be implemented. In 1900 a small group of 'London lads' was selected according to their likely ability to respond to specialised treatment or training. These young men were taken to Bedford prison to be taught a trade and equipped with the necessary skills to lead a new life, free from criminal activity on their release from prison. In 1902, a wing of the Borstal convict prison was taken over for a similar purpose. Soon, other prisons developed specialised wings where young offenders would be segregated from adult offenders and trained to lead new lives. These were the foundations of the Young Offenders Institutions of today.

Following the First World War there was pressure for change sparked by criticism of the system in a report published in 1922 by Stephen Hobhouse and Fenner Brockway (Edwards and Hurley,

1982). As conscientious objectors imprisoned during the war, the authors described imprisonment as 'demoralising and dehumanising'. Morris Waller's appointment as Chairman of the Commission coincided with publication of the Hobhouse and Brockway report, as did the foundation by Elizabeth Fry of the Howard League for Penal Reform, and with the appointment as a Commissioner of Alexander Patterson (Edwards and Hurley, 1982: Morris and Rothman, 1998).

Patterson dominated the penal system for the next twenty years. He was unique among prison commissioners in that prior to his appointment he had no official connection to the prison service. Patterson had developed an enduring concern regarding poverty in London and had moved to live in Bermondsey after leaving Oxford. In 1908, he became Assistant Director of the Borstal Association who were responsible for the after-care of boys remanded in Borstals. In 1909, he was asked to organise the first after-care organisation for convicts. As a driving force behind the Borstal system, Patterson was also responsible for initiating many of the more general reforms of the 1920s and 1930s. He reshaped regimes and based them on the public school principle, appointing housemasters. He intended Borstals to have the aim of reforming, reclaiming and training inmates.

The officers in charge were encouraged by Patterson to become involved with the boys in a wide variety of activities, many of a leisure time nature with summer camps becoming a feature of Borstal life. The Commissioner's annual report of 1929 advised a new establishment should be built to cope with the growing demand for places. The new establishment was inaugurated by the famous march of May 1930, where a group of staff and boys from Feltham

Borstal under the leadership of the Governor WW Llewellin campaigned (Edwards and Hurley, 1982).

The first open prison in England was founded at Lowdam Grange in Nottinghamshire. Llewellin led a similar march in 1935 from Stafford to Freiston near Boston, Lincolnshire where a second open Borstal, North Sea Camp was founded. A third was founded in 1938 at Hollesley Bay in Suffolk (McConville, 1998: Schlossman, 1998).

The impact of the new Commissioner was soon felt and the convict 'crop' and broad arrow uniform was abolished. Hygiene facilities for shaving were introduced and the silence rule was relaxed. Educational facilities were implemented and extended and provision was made for prisoners to receive visits. In 1923 a seven-hour working day was introduced and working conditions improved dramatically. With the aid of the Howard League, a pilot scheme was introduced in 1929 to provide a small wage to prisoners working in the mat-making shop at Wakefield. In 1930, public funds were made available for this purpose and the scheme was gradually extended and implemented elsewhere. From 1922, the period of separate confinement was phased out, finally being abolished in the prison rules of 1930. In 1936, all prisoners were allowed to have tobacco. Previously this privilege had been reserved for those serving sentences in excess of four years.

At the outbreak of the Second World War, large numbers of prisoners and Borstal trainees were released so the premises could be converted for other uses. In 1940, the inmate population began to rise steadily and, to ease overcrowding one-third remission was introduced. Open prisons for adult prisoners became accepted

when it was proved that such prisoners could be trusted in open conditions (Edwards and Hurley, 1982).

In 1945, the average daily population was 14,708 compared with 10,326 in 1939 (Edwards and Hurley, 1982). The high population caused problems as the service was considerably under staffed, the number of youths sentenced to Borstal training was high and there were inadequate places available in Borstal institutions. As a result, many trainees had to spend long periods of time in adult prisons awaiting allocation to Borstals. Significant criticism of the system emerged in parliament and through the press (Garland, 1990).

The Criminal Justice Act of 1948 abolished the concept of penal servitude, hard labour and the triple division of offenders. Two new types of institution were introduced namely the detention and remand centres. Detention centres were designed to deliver a short sharp shock and remand centres were to provide improved assistance to the courts. Young prisoners were separated from adults on remand and a more systematic allocation system was introduced. The Central Aftercare Association was established to implement and centralise aftercare arrangements for those released from prison. New sentences of Corrective Training and Preventative Detention were instilled. A report in 1947 by the Educational Advisory Committee aided the expansion of educational facilities in penal institutions. In 1951, the home leave privilege, previously only available to Borstal Trainees was made available for adult prisoners. In 1953, the first pre-release hostel was opened in Bristol. There were still problems with overcrowding and 17 open and medium security prisons and Borstals were opened between 1945 and 1952, many taking over vacated army camps (cf. Edwards and Hurley, 1982: Morris and Rothman, 1998).

By 1952, the average daily prison population had risen to 23,670 (Edwards and Hurley, 1982). By 1960, it had reached 27,000 and seven years later had reached the highest ever recorded figure at 35,000 (Vass, 1990:9). This resulted in prisoners often being housed three to a cell in local prisons. The use of specialists such as psychologists and welfare officers became the focus of attention and prison officers were encouraged to become more involved in the lives of their charges. An attempt was made to improve the often problematic inmate officer relationships. In 1956, a model started at Norwich prison with this specific aim. The model had three central components: dining in association for all convicted prisoners, increased working hours from 26 to 35 per week without increased staff numbers and the allocation of groups of prisoners to specific officers. The Norwich system quickly spread when the results were seen to be beneficial (Edwards and Hurley, 1982).

After the war, the increasing prison population and the large number of changes, which had been implemented during the 1950s, led to the need of a coherent strategy for the future. The white paper 'Penal Practice in a Changing Society' (1959) acknowledged this need and reflected the ideas developed during Sir Lionel Fox's chairmanship of the Prison Commission from 1942 to 1960. It was the first official document since the Gladstone Report to cover the entire area of penal administration. The aim was to prevent as many offenders as possible from re-offending and the white paper outlined the necessary steps to be taken in pursuit of this aim. These included the ideas that, as far as possible, young offenders should be kept out of prison, more detention centres needed to be built so that those sentenced to terms of six months and under could be sent to detention centres while those sentenced in excess of six months would receive

Borstal training. These aims were incorporated in the Criminal Justice Act of 1961. Plans were made for new institutions due to the lack of suitability of the existing ones built for the separate prison system. Ambitious proposals were made for a new classification system of adult prisoners based on the personality of the individual (Edwards and Hurley, 1982).

In 1963, the Prison Commission was dissolved and the prison department of the Home Office was created. This change reflected the growing political significance of penal affairs, the contribution of the prison service to the operation of the criminal justice system, the expansion and complexity of prison administration and the significance of the need for resources within the prison system. Steps were then taken to create a regional organisation with an office in Manchester in 1964 and further offices in London, Bristol and Birmingham by 1969. The aim was to strengthen links between headquarters and individual establishments as well as to provide an intermediary for individual casework and day-to-day administration. During the same period, the Prisons Board was restructured to give clear lines of responsibility for particular aspects of the work of the department and the functions of the inspectorate were defined. The opening of Grendon Prison in 1962 was the fulfilment of an idea developed by Sir Norwood East and Doctor Dehubert before the war. Grendon's aim was to provide psychiatric treatment for certain types of offender. In 1963, the opening of Blunderston prison made history, as it was the first purpose-built prison to be provided since Victorian times. The concept of specialist prisons, started by Grendon, was taken further in 1969 with the opening of Coldingley prison designed around an industrial regime (Morris and Rothman, 1998: Edwards and Hurley, 1982).

A number of escapes in the Sixties disrupted these new developments. The escape of notorious spy George Blake from Wormwood Scrubs in 1966 resulted in the initiation of an enquiry under Lord Mountbatten into prison escapes and general security. As a result of the report, in the following years considerable resources were diverted to improve prison security. Closed circuit television, radio links and the prison dog service were implemented. This emphasis on security measures affected activities greatly, in particular outdoor working parties, educational and recreational facilities. A new system of classifying adult male prisoners, based on security grounds was imposed. Mountbatten recommended a new high security institution on the Isle of Wight for the increasing number of prisoners who had been convicted for violent crimes and were detained for long periods of time. The Advisory Council on the Penal System advised that instead such prisoners should be dispersed around a selected number of secure establishments.

During the 1970s a variety of initiatives continued to improve the system. In 1971, the Home Secretary replaced the Visiting Committees for Justices by appointing the Boards of Visitors. A considerable investment in prison industry with commercial outlets for PRINDUS[9] products was introduced. Courses in life and social skills and physical education programmes were instilled and attention was turned to literacy. Social work within prisons was promoted to link officers with the probation service to look after the welfare of inmates. The general level of privileges was raised and improvements were made in visiting facilities. In 1974, the need to reorganise the system of dealing with young offenders was recognised (Edwards and Hurley, 1982).

Towards the end of the 1970s, new tensions were felt within the prison system including prison riots and demonstrations. Evidence

emerged that the typical prison population was providing more sophisticated offenders than before. There were new problems concerning the detention of those convicted of terrorist offences and the growing number of inmates convicted for life. There were also concerns about the number of mentally ill offenders in custody.

The May Enquiry (1978-1979), under the chairmanship of the Honourable Mr Justice May, reported a general dissatisfaction with the way the entire service was run. There was concern for the state of prison buildings and the physical condition of staff and inmates. The role of the prison service within criminal justice was reviewed and a number of recommendations were made which affected objectives, organisation, resources, staff, pay, allowances and other conditions of service and prison service industrial relations. It is on this concept that the prison system in England operates today (Edwards and Hurley, 1982: Morris and Rothman 1998: Garland, 1990).

It interesting to note that twenty years on from the May report, Sir David Ramsbotham, the Chief Inspector of Prisons, has recently expressed dissatisfaction with many of the same key issues. The late 1990s saw a dramatic increase in the number of inmates claiming prison officers have physically abused them, and it seems these claims are now being taken seriously. Police have recently been investigating claims of physical abuse at HMP Brixton. While prison has changed considerably since the days of the crank, the majority of British prisons are in desperate need of improvement in terms of conditions and facilities. The 1980s and 1990s saw average daily prison populations rise dramatically (cf. Vass, 1990) and, with prison overcrowding at an all-time high, it has become necessary to consider alternatives to custody. The late 1980s and early 1990s saw the implementation of electronic tagging in this

country, which had been in operation in the United States since the early 1980s. Other alternatives which have been in practice for some time and continue to be employed (with varying effects) include community service, bail, fines, fixed penalties, supervision orders, police cautioning, conditional discharge orders, suspended sentences, parole, deferred sentences, compensation orders and central to this thesis, probation orders with or without special conditions. (For a detailed overview and critical exploration of these and other alternatives to custody, see Alternatives to Prison (Vass, 1990).

A brief overview of the history of punishment and the birth of the prison system has been given. The next section will examine and clarify the way the modern prison system operates in the United Kingdom. While the modern prison system is a complex arena and there are significant differences from prison to prison in virtually every aspect of prison life, the following section attempts to simplify and explain the general organisation of the system. It is important to remember that different governors may contribute to considerable variations in regime, education and other aspects of prison life.

The Modern Prison System

As education is the predominant arena for the facilitation of Drama Work, it is important to consider its nature within the prison system. The different types of prison and indeed some of the same types differ in the way education occurs within the establishment thus affecting Drama Work. It is essential to understand the type of prison and how its regime works in order to examine how Drama Work may function within it.

The male prison system is comprised of remand centres, local prisons, young offender institutions (YOIs), training prisons and dispersal prisons. Many institutions serve more than one purpose, for example a prison may be comprised of a number of wings housing different categories of offender. There may be convicted prisoners carrying out their sentence, convicted prisoners awaiting sentencing and prisoners on remand, all housed within the same institution. Some prisons may be counted as both a local prison and a young offenders institution because there is a YOI unit present on the same site.

On January 31st 1999 there were 136 Prison Service establishments in England and Wales housing 61,639 male and 3,194 female offenders. There were 2,883 males under 21 years on remand and 7,917 convicted male young offenders and 118 female young offenders on remand with 302 sentenced (Home Office, 1999).

Local Prisons:

Each region hosts a number of local prisons and an offender may be sent to any one of these depending on the number of current prisoners. Many inmates will be on remand awaiting trial. Other

prisoners may include those serving short sentences or serving the first part of a medium to long sentence. Un-sentenced prisoners may also be kept in a local prison. In March 1988 there were 28 local prisons. In January 1999 there were 47 (Home Office, 1999). Local prisons are currently over-crowded and in the worst physical condition of all establishments. Education departments suffer from lack of continuity as prisoners come and go more frequently than within other types of prison (Leech, 1997).

Remand Centres:

Remand prisons hold prisoners who are awaiting trial and whom the court has not seen fit to grant bail. They also hold un-sentenced prisoners who have been convicted but are awaiting sentencing (Leech, 1997). In March 1988 there were 20 remand prisons rising to 23 by January 1999. This section of the system is vastly overcrowded (Leech,1997).

Closed Training Prisons:

These hold adult prisoners (age 21 and over) with a range of sentences from a few weeks to life imprisonment. There are different categories of security that determine the type of prisoners who can be sent there. The categories range from A (being the most secure) to D (Leech,1997).

In March 1988 there were 43 closed training prisons. By January 1999 there were 65 (Home Office, 1999).

Open Prisons:

There is no physical barrier to prevent escape by prisoners in an open prison and therefore they hold prisoners who provide a low

security risk. Open conditions can apply to YOIs or training prisons but not local prisons. Prisoners serving long sentences may finish their sentence in an open prison (Leech, 1997).

In March 1988 there were 10 open prisons rising to 16 by January 1999.

Dispersal Prisons:

Dispersal prisons house high security wings, which hold prisoners serving long sentences who are deemed a high security risk. Prisoners will generally be transferred to a lower security prison to complete sentences (Leech, 1997).

There were eight closed training prisons, which were dispersal prisons in March 1988 (Home Office, 1999).

Young Offender Institutions:

This category includes all the institutions for offenders under 21 years and supersedes the youth custody and detention centre categories. There were 19 closed and four open YOIs for male prisoners in January 1999 with an additional 11 Juvenile prisons. In March 1988 there were three closed and two open YOIs for females. The rise in young offending has seen the need to expand the number of institutions housing YOIs with five closed and two open female units in January 1999 (Home Office, 1999).

In most cases, education within YOIs is treated very seriously with inmates being encouraged to attend and take examinations. Recent initiatives have provided higher levels of funding for regime enhancement and education within YOIs (Leech, 1997).

The Female Prison System:

There are far fewer places in prison for women than for men and female prisoners are not categorised in the same way. Other than that the system is much the same. The male prison HMP Durham houses a high security female wing but there are no dispersal prisons. There are, however, three mother and baby units for female prisoners. These are in Holloway, Styal and Askham Grange where some women may have their children with them up to either nine or 18 months. In March 1998 there were 10 prisons hosting female offenders. By January 1999, there were 18 women's prisons, seven of which were locals, eight closed training, and three open. There were five closed female YOIs and two open YOIs on this date (Home Office, 1999).

Security Categories:

Male prisoners are categorised according to their perceived security risk and then allocated to prisons that can provide the appropriate security. High-risk offenders categorised as Category A will be dispersed to special wings in Category B prisons. There are also category C and D offenders of which D applies to open prisons. Following the helicopter escape from Gartree in 1988, three sub-categories to Category A were introduced: Category A 'Standard Risk', Category A 'High Risk' and Category A 'Exceptional Risk' (Leech, 1998).

Within establishments some prisoners are classified as Rule 43, which entails separate conditions either for their own protection or for reasons of good order and discipline. Prisoners who have committed an offence, which may provoke violent treatment from other prisoners (such as offences of a sexual nature for example) may apply to be kept under these conditions (Home Office, 1999).

Prison Privatisation

It is important to note that in recent years a number of prisons have been privatised, that is private security companies such as Group 4 manage them. Group 4 is one of the world's largest security organisations with operating companies in over 40 countries, employing over 70,000 people and an annual turnover in excess of £650 million. In addition to a range of other security services, they provide prison management and court escort services (Group 4, 1999).

The newly developed prison and correction services resulting from the government's decision to contract out in some of these areas is accounting for an increasing percentage of their consolidated turnover. In April 1992, Group 4 became the first private company in the UK to manage a prison. Since then they have gone on to manage Buckley Hall prison in Rochdale and they have been awarded a 25 year contract as part of a consortium with Tarmac to design, construct, manage and finance a 600 capacity prison at Fazakerley in Liverpool. 300 will be category B and C convicted adult prisoners, 150 will be sentenced young offenders and a further 150 remand prisoners. The prison will be called HMP Altcourse. Group 4 were also the first private company to be awarded a contract to escort prisoners taking over responsibility for Area Seven in the North East of England. They have also won contracts for Areas Four and Six, which cover East Anglia, Merseaside, Greater Manchester and North Wales. Other countries are also exploring the privatisation of prison services and Group 4 have taken over responsibility for Mount Gambier in South Australia. (Group 4, 1999: Home Office, 1999).

How prison privatisation will affect the quality and quantity of Drama Work in such prisons is not yet known. It is still too early as far as prison privatisation is concerned and at present regimes do not vary dramatically from conventional prisons. However, with a focus on profit it seems likely that arts based activities will not be favoured in such institutions. John Bates, press officer for Group 4 states: 'The regime at Altcourse will be based on full purposeful activity and includes educational and industrial work' (Leech, 1997-98:10). It will be interesting to see how arts and drama are included in the regime.

Drama Work in Prison

Detailing the history of Drama Work in prisons or with ex-offenders serving under probation orders is problematic. There is no comprehensive documentation of such projects, prior to the research of Anne Peaker and Gill Vincent at Loughborough University[10]. Also, their research covered the broad spectrum of arts activities in prison, rather than looking in-depth at Drama Work. So much Drama Work in prison has been conducted by theatre companies as part of a larger programme, one date in a year-long tour for example, where a theatre education workshop has been facilitated within a prison without any clear aim regarding the prisoners. Such work is rarely documented and most frequently mentioned in brief in newspaper or magazine articles.

The Koestler Awards Scheme has played an important role in the promotion of drama in prison. The awards aim to encourage and reward a wide variety of creative endeavours. There are 19 different categories of which performing arts, playwriting and drama are just three. Though the awards started in the area of visual arts and painting, the performing arts now form a fundamental element of the competition. Any inmate held in a prison or special hospital is entitled to enter (Cox, 1992:180). While prisons with regular drama groups are most prolific in the categories pertaining to performing arts, it is common for groups of inmates to collaborate and enter the competition of their own volition (Drama Worker 1, 15.03.95, Manchester).

In the literature review, which can be found in Chapter Two, I clearly chart the influences upon Drama Work as cited by the many practitioners I spoke to while conducting research for this thesis. I attempt to establish the roots and history of these influential

practitioners. Charting the actual history of Drama Work is not so easy.

Drama Work appears to fall between two differing arenas and hence is neglected by both. Those who write about the criminal justice system, rehabilitation and alternative measures have failed to acknowledge the existence of Drama Work with offenders, let alone any benefits it may have. Similarly, literature pertaining to theatre practice within the community has also neglected the considerable amount of work carried out in British prisons, concentrating instead on Theatre in Education work in schools, with mentally or physically disabled groups, the elderly and other community groups.

Without any comprehensive documentation about Drama Work in existence, it is difficult to gain access to information. It has been necessary to examine many newspaper and magazine articles, to scour the World Wide Web and to contact community theatre companies and associations affiliated to criminal justice and the arts. Many of the prisons with a history of Drama Work do not keep detailed records regarding which companies have worked in the prison or what type of work they carried out. As education workers or writers in residence have moved on, records have been lost. Few prison education departments could provide details older than a few years. In some cases, the Governor or the Director of Regimes arranged visits by theatre companies and so there were no records kept in the education department regarding the visits.

The lack of a centralised source of information makes forming a chronology of the history of Drama Work an exceptionally difficult task. James Thompson discusses how there have been many 'significant moments' (Thompson, 1998:6) in the history of prison

theatre, many which have not been documented. A significant moment in this context could be considered to be the formation of a prison theatre company or perhaps the arrival of an individual Drama Worker at a prison, who has made some considerable difference within the regime. These significant moments help make up the history of Drama Work and it is these moments including the formation of the leading companies in this field, predominantly Clean Break, Geese and Insight Arts Trust, which the author has chosen to focus on. Historically, the formation of the Theatre in Prisons and Probation centre, (hereafter referred to as the TIPP Centre) and the recent European Conferences on Theatre in Prison[11] has also been very important. There have also been vital contributions to the field by individuals, Chris Johnston, Saul Hewish, John Bergman[12], Stephen Plaice and Anna Reynolds. This chapter will examine these significant moments, the formation of the companies and the work of the individuals.

It is important to note that there are many companies working in prison or with probation clients, using some aspect of drama or performance that are not documented in any detail in this research. The education departments of companies such as English National Opera, Glyndebourne Opera and the Royal Shakespeare Company have all produced plays or operas and run workshops in prison with the prisoners. ENO's excellent Bayliss Programme has been forging associations between probation clients and opera very successfully for several years. Glyndebourne's education unit have conducted several very successful drama and opera projects in prison and host a yearly residency at HMP Lewes in Sussex. However, this aspect of ENO and Glyndebourne Opera's work is very small compared to the whole. These companies are not set up to work with offenders, nor do they claim to attempt any sort of rehabilitation. While I acknowledge that much of the work carried

out is excellent and important to the field as a whole, this research concerns companies whose sole aim is to use drama with prisoners and ex-offenders in an attempt to contribute to the process of rehabilitation and reduce the likelihood of recidivism, or in an attempt to at least confront and address the nature of offending behaviour, thus benefiting the offender in some respect. Information pertaining to specific projects can be obtained from the aforementioned theatre companies.

1979 - Clean Break

When two female prisoners, Jackie Holborough and Jenny Hill met at Askham Grange women's prison in 1979 a significant moment in the history of Drama Work with offenders occurred. As a challenge to themselves and other prisoners and as a means of turning prison into a positive experience, Clean Break Theatre Company was founded. It was the first theatre group specifically catering for women ex-prisoners and today is one of the largest theatre companies working with ex-offenders and prisoners in the United Kingdom.

The company 'seeks to expand the skills, education and employment opportunities of women prisoners, ex-prisoners and ex-offenders. Theatre is a vital means by which ex-prisoners and ex-offenders can develop their skills, creativity and self-esteem and thereby develop a new life in which offending is not a part' (Clean Break, 1997:1).

Clean Break are a registered charity working with women who have appeared before the courts or on probation, in remand centres, secure psychiatric units or special hospitals. The theatre

productions produced by Clean Break aim to provide a voice for women prisoners and women ex-offenders by educating the public on issues surrounding women and crime, and by encouraging access to theatre for those who would not normally attend.

With the aid of lottery funding Clean Break has purchased a former warehouse that has been converted into a training, rehearsal and information centre. There are four studio spaces and a multi-media suite in addition. It is the first centre of its kind providing training opportunities for a large number of female ex-offenders. The Theatre Education and Training Course offers short courses in acting, video skills, music technology, story telling, creative writing and dance. There is also a module 'Looking at Anger and Personal Development' as well as a one-year access course leading to opportunities in Higher Education.

The training programme provides London Open College Federation, NVQ and GCSE accreditation. Courses are run from the centre and inside prisons from introductory to advanced level. The programme also includes counselling, advice and information services relating to the effects of release from prison. There are information services relating to opportunities in theatre and other vocational fields.

'The Breaking In Project', which started in September 1999 will fund six women to complete the access course, join a training company for a year and learn the skills necessary to become theatre practitioners in the community. These women will specialise in working with vulnerable and volatile groups and young people at risk of offending (Clean Break, 1997:2). While this project is very exciting and radical in many respects, it is important to note that Insight Arts Trust have been training ex-offenders

to work with offenders in the community and in prison for some years, though not through an accredited course.

Since its formation in 1979, Clean Break has annually toured a professional theatre production raising themes and issues surrounding the imprisonment of women. Sarah Daniels, Anna Reynolds and Winsome Pinnock amongst others have written plays for Clean Break. Productions have covered issues relating to drug smuggling, mother and baby units and domestic violence amongst others.

It is stated in Clean Break's literature that students are involved at all stages of production from deciding themes to being members of the cast and production team. The work provides a unique voice for women ex-offenders and allows scope for the coverage of issues, which are specific to women involved in criminal behaviour.

Core funding is provided by The Arts Council, Inner London Probation Service, London Arts Board, London Borough Grants Unit and London Borough of Camden with additional funding from The Paul Hamlyn Foundation, The Baring Foundation, Sir John Cass's Foundation, City Parochial Foundation, Foundation for Sports and the Arts, J Paul Getty Charitable Trust, The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Royal Victoria Hall Foundation, Swan Mountain Trust, The Sir Jules Thorn Charitable Trust, TSB Foundation, Tudor Trust, The Worshipful Company of Weavers, The Woodward Charitable Trust and Working Title Films.

1980 - Geese Theatre Company USA

Although this thesis is researching Drama Work in the United Kingdom, the foundations for one of this country's leading drama in prison/probation companies were laid in the USA and so should be explained in context by first examining the formation of Geese Theatre Company USA. It is important to note the considerable influence this company's work has had on British Drama Work.

In 1980, ex-patriot British director John Bergman formed Geese Theatre Company USA. Based in New Hampshire in the north-eastern United States, Geese Theatre USA has toured theatre productions to more than 300 prisons in 42 states and seven countries and has received many awards for the work including awards from the American Correctional Association and a Bafta for their acclaimed CD Rom project. The US company is involved in installing therapeutic communities, co-facilitating behavioural programmes for violent offenders and training staff to run treatment programmes for sex offenders. John Bergman is a senior consultant to the Vermont State Department of Corrections.

Geese USA started as project from the University of Iowa and soon became a non-profit making company with the express purpose of bringing theatre and therapy to institutions in the international criminal justice system so that 'anyone may have the option to change' (Geese USA, 1999).

Currently Geese USA provides training in using Dramatherapy with violent and sexual offenders at every level, drama and art work as restorative justice mediators, connection arts for the community, the creation of original client centred productions for institutions and the public and even ethics training for the police (Geese USA Website, 1997).

Having performed to over 300,000 inmates, leading the way in the training of correctional staff, devising programmes to combat violent and sexually deviant behaviour and running numerous programmes aimed at helping offenders prepare for release, last year the company launched an interactive CD Rom for young adults being released from prison (Hewish, 1999).

Geese USA and Geese GB created the CD Rom project in association with Jubilee Arts and IBM. Taken from a performance and workshop programme called 'Lifting the Weight' used by Geese in prisons for the past ten years, the CD Rom was launched on June 23rd 1998. It intends to begin the realistic preparation of young offenders for survival in the outside world. It allows the teacher, parole officer, probation officer or Drama Worker to see what clients really think is a good decision-making skill. It is designed to give the client and teacher a channel for working on anger management, sexual harassment, boredom, money management, etc.

It is, in effect, an interactive improvised play in which the audience (the offender/client) advises the main characters (offenders leaving prison) how to deal with different situations in the outside world

Although John Bergman now carries out much of the US work on his own, Geese Theatre Company are still expanding with a Romanian Geese promised before the year 2000.

1987 - Geese Theatre Company GB

In 1987, Geese Theatre Company of Great Britain was established under the franchise of Geese Theatre USA, by former US member Clark Baim and founder member and associate director Saul Hewish who was a member of Geese between 1987 and 1996 and was director of Geese GB from 1989 to 1994, when he left the company to pursue freelance work. When Geese GB began work, they already had the benefit of seven years experience in the United States as a foundation. The company were very strict about security protocol and training, with John Bergman supervising the work.

Geese GB are a national touring company working in prisons, young offender institutions and probation centres. Since its formation in 1987 the company has worked in more than 140 custodial institutions and with over 40 probation services in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. The work includes live performances, workshops, weeklong residencies, staff training and long-term partnerships with probation services. The company is made up of a team of professional actors who undergo training with John Bergman and the British company directors. John Bergman provides direct training in criminology, psychology and Dramatherapy techniques.

Geese Theatre Company's central aim is to prevent crime through rehabilitation, by stopping offenders re-offending.

The company works from the premise that the offender is an individual who makes active choices and has volition. Whilst recognising the socio-economic factors influencing crime, the company focuses on the individual's own responsibility for his or her own actions. Although it is not possible to force changes in behaviour, Geese uses image, mask and

> metaphor to encourage individuals to examine their own offending behaviour and in doing so hopes to promote the motivation for change (Geese Theatre Company, 1995:3).

Through performances and workshops, Geese claim to employ theatre and drama techniques to promote self-awareness and empower the offender with the skills and confidence necessary to change his or her anti-social behaviours. The company mounts short productions on a variety of issues, which are suitable to virtually any space, an essential pre-requisite of performing theatre in prisons. Two of the company's most successful productions 'Lifting The Weight' and 'The Plague Game' are structured improvisations, relying heavily on audience participation. Audience members are asked to direct some of the stage action. The plays become interactive drama, drawing on Boal's forum theatre methods.

Fig.1: A scene from 'Lifting the Weight' by Geese Theatre Company

Other successful productions like 'The Violent Illusion Trilogy' are not improvised pieces though they still at times involve audience feedback. The trilogy consists of two plays, a series of workshops and a final 'challenge', intended for use over a period of five days. The plays and workshops explore the issues of violence and/or sexual abuse with a focus on the cycles of destructive behaviour and intervention in those cycles. It is however, designed exclusively for offenders who are already involved in some kind of

treatment programme, a rarity in British prisons. Perhaps the most distinctive aspect to Geese's work is the use of masks. The company have a series of masks that are visually emotive. Each mask has a name and is based on an archetype that may be attributed to modes of behaviour and types of personality. These are as follows:

Mr Fist: 'Don't mess with me!' - the mask of aggression and intimidation

Fig.2: 'Mr Fist' mask, Geese Theatre Company

Mr Cool: 'Everything is sorted. No problem.' - the image conscious, 'streetwise' offender who knows it all.

Fig.3: 'Mr.Cool' mask, Geese Theatre Company

Stone Wall:	'I don't know...' - the bored, indifferent, uncommunicative and blank mask.
Good Guy:	'All I'm doing is standing up for myself, the 'John Wayne' who only does 'what a man has to do'.
Bullshit:	'You see, it happened this way...' - the mask of the sly, manipulative, deceitful avoidance that keeps responsibility and insight at bay.
The Joker:	'It's just a laugh, that's all.' - the mask of cruel insensitive humour that is often sexist and racist and used to avoid the seriousness of one's behaviour.
The Rescuer:	'You can't do that to him!' - and if I rescue you, then you must do the same for me, or else!

Fig.4: 'Victim' mask, Geese Theatre Company

The Victim Mask/Poor Me: 'You don't understand what it is like for me!' The 'offender as victim' for whom the 'cruelty' of the world and 'bad luck' relinquish him of any responsibility for the victims that he himself creates (Mountford and Farrall, 1998:113).

The masks were developed because Geese found that offenders frequently made reference to wearing different masks in order to survive. As well as wearing the masks, there is an aspect of Geese's work called 'lifting the mask', that is when an actor or offender lifts the mask or is asked to lift the mask, they must speak the truth. There is also a layering of masks that can be used, for example an offender may be discovered to generally play the victim

but when angry the brick wall comes in to play. Alun Mountford of Geese GB says of this:

> What is quickly apparent to the audience is that behind one mask is another and another and so on. It would be naive to think that there might simply be some God-given element of ourselves which we need only to communicate with in order for us to see the error of our ways (Mountford and Farall, 1998:113).

Geese also developed another mask, The Deathbird. This large mask is reminiscent of a skeletal vulture skull. Death Bird is based on the concept of the 'beast within' (Mountford and Farrall, 1998:114), the urge to commit crime or the force driving that urge.

> The belief that this impulse or 'Death Bird' was somehow 'beyond control' was contested in both performances and workshops. If we can consciously recognise not only our masks but also our impulse to hurt, damage, bully, manipulate, cajole, steal or rob, and to gain power and pleasure from such abusive acts, then we are capable of confronting and 'pulling down' that 'impulse', controlling that 'Death Bird' (Mountford and Farrall, 1998:113).

Integral to the company's use of mask is the 'need to recognise choice and freewill' (Mountford and Farrall, 1998:113). Through this recognition, Mountford and Farrall say that they can identify the masks that help to perpetuate the creation of victims and in turn drag the perpetrator back into prison. Without the recognition the offender is likely to remain a slave to his or her habitual behaviours.

Geese explore the offenders' violent and aggressive experiences in order to surface the thoughts and feelings, which 'feed' the behaviour. The offender is encouraged to describe the incident in question and the Drama Worker will try to gain more and more detail about the offence. Geese claim that they invariably find more material that underlines the offender's role in instigating or

contributing to the offence, the eruption of violence. In emphasising the offender's responsibility for his or her violent behaviour, the Drama Worker can encourage the offender to identify the masks they may be 'wearing' and the anger management skills they lack. Through role-play, the offender can explore the incident then learn and practice new skills that hopefully will reduce the likelihood of re-offending (Mountford and Farrall, 1998).

In devising a group work exercise for violent offenders, 'The Corrida', Mountford and Farrall consider it necessary to incorporate a number of basic ingredients, 'The exploration of the origins of violence: the recognition of responsibility for one's actions: a recognition of the impact of the offence on the victims: basic skills that the offender would need in order to live a life free of violence: and an opportunity to test those skills prior to facing the real world' (Mountford and Farrall, 1998:113).

The concept of 'The Corrida' came from early discussions during the development of a five-day prison programme The Violent Illusion. First developed by Bergman for Geese USA in 1988, it is a performance that is part of a trilogy. In the format of a full-mask mime, the performance explores the origins of domestic violence. Bergman and Geese then devised the trilogy with 'Violent Illusion 2' examining interventions in violent behaviour and finally 'Violent Illusion 3' or 'The Corrida'.

'The Corrida' or bullring was developed to allow an offender a chance to test his new anger management skills. The set is circular with a 'judge' at one end of the space. The judge is a Drama Worker who is joined by another company member and three participants. The audience is comprised of the participants in the work who watch the action through windows cut into the set.

Another Drama Worker from the company acts as a host, facilitating the direction and conclusion of each 'Corrida'.

In the 'Corrida', violence is not allowed. The participants must enter determined to deal with the test, whatever that test may entail. Firstly they give a 'declaration of intent'. This is their personal reason for being in the space and what they wish to leave behind in their lives. The test may appear in a variety of guises, provocation or temptation to behave violently or the voices of victims talking and asking questions. The 'Corrida' is tailor-made to suit the individual participant's need and no two have ever been or will be the same. Drama Workers from the company take on whatever roles are necessary.

Prior to testing, a process must be carried out by Geese in their House of Four Rooms. The work space is divide into four 'rooms' using chairs arranged in a cross, with a space at the axis to move from room to room. The axis also represents Death Bird or the ability to relapse. Death Bird is ever present with the participant, seen from every room, just as the temptation to return to old behaviours is ever present. Once the four rooms are marked out, an entrance point in room one and an exit point in room four are designated. This establishes the line between 'the street' or old behaviours and the process of change as symbolised by the four rooms. As in the 'Corrida', a declaration of intent is made before entering the first room with the participant rejecting his life of violence and aggression, which are referred to as 'the street'. In order to step into the first room, 'the street' must be left behind. This process is ritualistic.

At the start of the 'Four Rooms programme', the group are asked to enter the first room together. They are then asked what the room

may represent to them in terms of the process of change. 'The group may identify the past, bad memories, guilt, fear, anger, aggression, violence, family and so on' (Mountford and Farrall, 1998:117). A list is made on a flip-chart and stuck to the wall and the group are asked to name the room. Different groups have chosen different names for the room such as 'The Mirror Room'. The same group then named the second room 'The Room of Hope' and the third 'The Sorting Room'. The fourth room is left un-named. This is because it is intensely personal to each participant who uses it. It is the last stage of change. In the last room, the decision must be made to leave the past behind along with all the destructive and violent behaviour of the participant. The participant must make a declaration that reflects what they have learned in the four rooms and what skills they must now use and their commitment to permanent change. On conclusion of the programme, the participant steps back on to the 'street', but this time they must take a different path (Mountford and Farrall, 1998).

The work carried out by Geese GB is strongly influenced by Boal and also by Dramatherapy (Hewish, 1999). John Bergman is a qualified Dramatherapist and his influence on the company is considerable. Founder of the British company, Clark Baim is close to completing his training as a psychodramatist[13] and I am sure this will also affect the future work of the company. I have discussed Geese's aims and objectives, their desire to rehabilitate offenders through Drama. Their work, more than that of any other company I have investigated, directly confronts offending behaviour. The company have a strong belief in the possibility of change, which they demonstrate through their varied programmes.

It is very problematic to try and analyse Geese's effect or ability to rehabilitate due to the short time span in which they work with

offenders. However, Geese's work commands a great deal of respect within the prison system and the sheer quantity of residencies and workshops demonstrates the support given to the company by probation officers, parole officers, prison education officers and directors of regime. Indeed, they are funded in part by the Home Office under the Home Office Young Adult Offenders Grant Scheme and the Home Office Supervision Grant Scheme. Geese is funded by over a hundred other funding bodies including the Arts Council of Great Britain, Barclay's New Stages Award Scheme, The Prince's Trust and numerous others funding bodies, both independent, arts councils, charities and probation services.

1987 - Insight Arts Trust

Chris Johnston[14] founded Insight Arts Trust, (which is hereafter referred to as IAT) in 1987. The project began life as a weekly drama programme enabling probation clients to engage with the arts in their spare time. The Inner London Probation Service supported the programme and probation officers throughout London soon referred clients. IAT has grown in strength over the past ten years and now operates a wide range of arts programmes in prisons and with probation clients. Video, photography, sculpture and creative writing programmes are facilitated by IAT. There are also programmes that directly tackle offending behaviour. IAT has developed a professional theatre company which tours productions on crime-related issues to prisons, probation centres and to professional theatre contexts. The company employs both professional performers and ex-offenders who have completed a programme of training with IAT. In recent years successful productions have included, 'Chains and Feathers' (1993), 'The Anger Dyes' (1994), 'Dear John' (1995) and 'The Art of Being in the Wrong Place at the Wrong Time' (1997/8). All productions are devised by the company and informed by other ex-offenders attending Insight Programmes. In June 1992, Insight made a considerable contribution to the debate surrounding the arts in prisons when it hosted The Artist Inside, the first National Symposium on Prison, Probation and the Arts (Insight Arts Trust, 1997).[15]

The symposium was held at the Oval House in London over a period of six days and included debates, workshops and performances drawing on a wide variety of contributors from the arts, prison and probation service. His Honour Judge Tumin, the then Chief Inspector of Prisons, was in attendance and, for the first

time in this country, the central issues relating to artists working in prisons were discussed and debated.

While Geese have used many of the same, albeit adapted, programmes for the past ten years, Insight do not work in this way. Each yearly devised performance for the long-term project is different and so the associated workshops are different too. From year to year, different aspects of offending behaviour are addressed. While the 'Dear John' performance and workshop programme examined the difficulties involved in maintaining a relationship while in prison, 'The Anger Dyes' looked at the problems faced by the offender on release from prison. Chapter Four looks at specific examples of work by Insight Arts Trust in greater detail. In order to understand the way that Insight operates, I will briefly outline the series of programmes for 1997/8.

'Look At It The Other Way' 27th October-21st November 1997

'Look At It The Other Way' is a four-week training programme concerning the use of the performing arts in a prison and probation context. The programme is devised for arts practitioners wishing to extend their skills, prison or probation officers wanting to use the arts in their work and the unemployed or ex-offenders who would like to receive training enabling them to acquire facilitating skills.

The training programme involved a number of practitioners and companies working in a variety of areas. Safe Ground Theatre Company ran a workshop and discussion examining the methods they use working with staff to bridge prison inmates with their local community. The TIPP Centre led a day entitled 'Dealing With Drugs', confronting the affective and emotional pressures related to drug culture and the individual, examining causes and

consequences of drug use. Dave Tomalin and Plan B Arts facilitated three days of workshops exploring how drama techniques may be used to explore and challenge violent and intimidating behaviour, within the context of the male image and masculinity. The workshop was largely based on the company's acclaimed anti-bullying project at HMP Leeds. The exploration of themes concerning crime and heroin use ran in conjunction with 'Red Eye Theatre Company', an ex-offenders group promoting an anti-drugs message. Dave Tomalin and Plan B Arts also facilitated workshops on Anger Management and Life Skills, planning and building an independent voluntary sector organisation with issues of organisation, finance, staffing and legal relationships.

Insight Arts Trust led five days examining the different aspects of their own work such as running Drama Workshops for probation clients, devising plays with ex-offender groups and organising and running multi- arts programmes for ex-offender groups.

Clean Break led a two-day practical workshop on the relationship between Dramatherapeutic, Psychodramatic (please refer to glossary) and Drama processes in working with theatre within the context of prison and probation with particular reference to working with women prisoners and ex-offenders.

Saul Hewish ran a workshop 'It Only Happened Once', an introduction to working with sex offenders. The workshop addressed the most common characteristics of sex offenders and explored drama-based techniques appropriate for such a group.

Alun Mountford of Geese GB facilitated a workshop on the use of masks with violent offenders with particular reference to masculinity and aggression. Sara Lee of the Irene Taylor Trust examined using

music in a prison context while Charlotte Vincent of 'Vincent Dance Theatre' examined the use of dance in prison.

Divert! - Social and life skills programmes.

The 'Divert!' programme was available to prison and probation services and was developed with the ability to tailor the programme to suit particular requirements and cover offending behaviour, anger management, personal development, family and relationship issues and assertiveness training.

Insight's work in this area is rooted in assisting offenders to more fully understand their own impulses, behaviour patterns and personal potential. Central to the programme is the belief that creative group work is particularly suited to addressing the challenge of personal change. Programmes are structured according to any of the priority areas given above or different areas are challenged holistically within a series of sessions. Insight's approach is to work in conjunction with staff to devise specific programmes, which suit particular requirements of time, space and sentencing (Johnston, 1997).

Tutors contributed accordingly and the programme teams include contributing or co-facilitating ex-offenders who have completed training programmes with Insight. Group discussion, working with charts and visual aids, improvisation, presented short plays and role-play are all employed.

New Circuits - Programmes for Inner London probation clients 1997/8

Insight's ILPS programme was divided into a series of workshops:

- April: Evening Drama Workshops
- June/July: Daytime Drama Workshops leading to performance
- September: Evening photography workshops
- November: Evening music and Drama Workshops
- January 98: Evening creative writing workshops
- February/March: Daytime creative writing, drama and video project

All the programmes for ILPS clients engage the participants in group work in order to stimulate personal reassessment as well as serving as an introduction to the demands of a particular art form. The evening programmes are less intensive, though regular attendance is encouraged. In the longer daytime course the challenge is greater, regular attendance is both expected and necessary. Participants are asked to commit themselves for the duration of the programme, normally three days a week for up to six weeks. The daytime programmes usually involved the creation of a finished product, a performance or an exhibition.

Probation officers were able to refer clients by phone and the clients then attended interviews prior to commencement of each programme. The programmes were open to all clients under statutory supervision to the probation service, those who have been released from custody within the last three months having served a sentence of less than twelve months or those on bail for the purposes of a pre-sentence report.

The Art of Being in the Wrong Place at the Wrong Time

'The Art of Being in the Wrong Place Wrong Time' is a touring play, devised by ex-offenders alongside professionals, with accompanying workshops and residencies based on the themes raised in the play. The play toured to prison and probation venues and also undertook a number of performances at a theatre venue for interested parties. I will further expand upon the nature of the project in Chapter Six.

The Inner London Probation Service and the London Borough Grants Committee provide core funding for Insight Arts Trust. Additional funding comes from the Arts Council of England, the London Arts Board and the Foundation for Sports and Arts. The European Commission has funded IAT to develop a European programme linked to a number of European educational establishments and prisons. Additional funding has come from the European Social Fund, the Princes Trust, the Economist Charitable Trust, Morgan Crucible Charitable Trust, Northern Foods plc, the Henderson Administration Group and the John Paul Getty Trust.

Partnerships are created between IAT and other organisations both within and outside of the criminal justice system. IAT works in partnership with ILPS as discussed above to deliver a range of programmes and has contributed programmes and/or performances to a range of prisons including HMYOI Feltham, HMP Morton Hall, HMP Pentonville, HMP Norwich, HMYOI Lancaster Farms, HMP Grendon and numerous others country wide. IAT's policy is as follows:

> IAT employs the arts as an imaginative territory within which participants can explore opportunities for personal change. Here fundamental questions about self, and the self's

relationship to society, can be worked through. It is only with new understanding about personal identity that offenders can find a lifestyle away from crime. Within drama a sense of connectedness with others is developed. Personal patterns of behaviour can be dramatised and challenged. New roles can be practiced....

All our work is group orientated, interactive and participatory. Those who have taken to crime as a lifestyle may find an opportunity here to find ways to break negative attitudes and behaviour patterns. Confidence and self-esteem are lifted through the production of creative work, and emotional sharing leads to friendship and perhaps a new contact with society. Participants' engagement with IAT does not necessarily end with the conclusion of a programme. We positively encourage clients into work experience opportunities, and many ex-offenders now contribute to or co-facilitate, IAT programmes. (Insight Arts Trust, 1997:looseleaf pages un-numbered).

Theatre In Prison and Probation Centre

Although there were a number of different drama projects undertaken in British prisons during the 1980s, little occurred to raise the profile of the work until the early 1990s. During this time a renewed sense of optimism from the prison service, towards rehabilitation through group work began to surface (Peaker, 1998). The Theatre in Prisons and Probation Centre, commonly known as and hereafter referred to as the TIPP Centre, was established in 1992 with input from the regional prison and probation services. It was designed to provide a national and international focus for theatre work within the criminal justice system and when it hosted 'Creative Time', the Second European Conference on Theatre and Prison in April 1996, it achieved its aim. Representatives from 11 separate countries arrived in Manchester to debate the issues involved in working with offenders through drama. Based at the University of Manchester, the TIPP Centre aims to 'become a major

force in the movement for a creative approach to problems of crime and punishment' (TIPP, 1996:1).

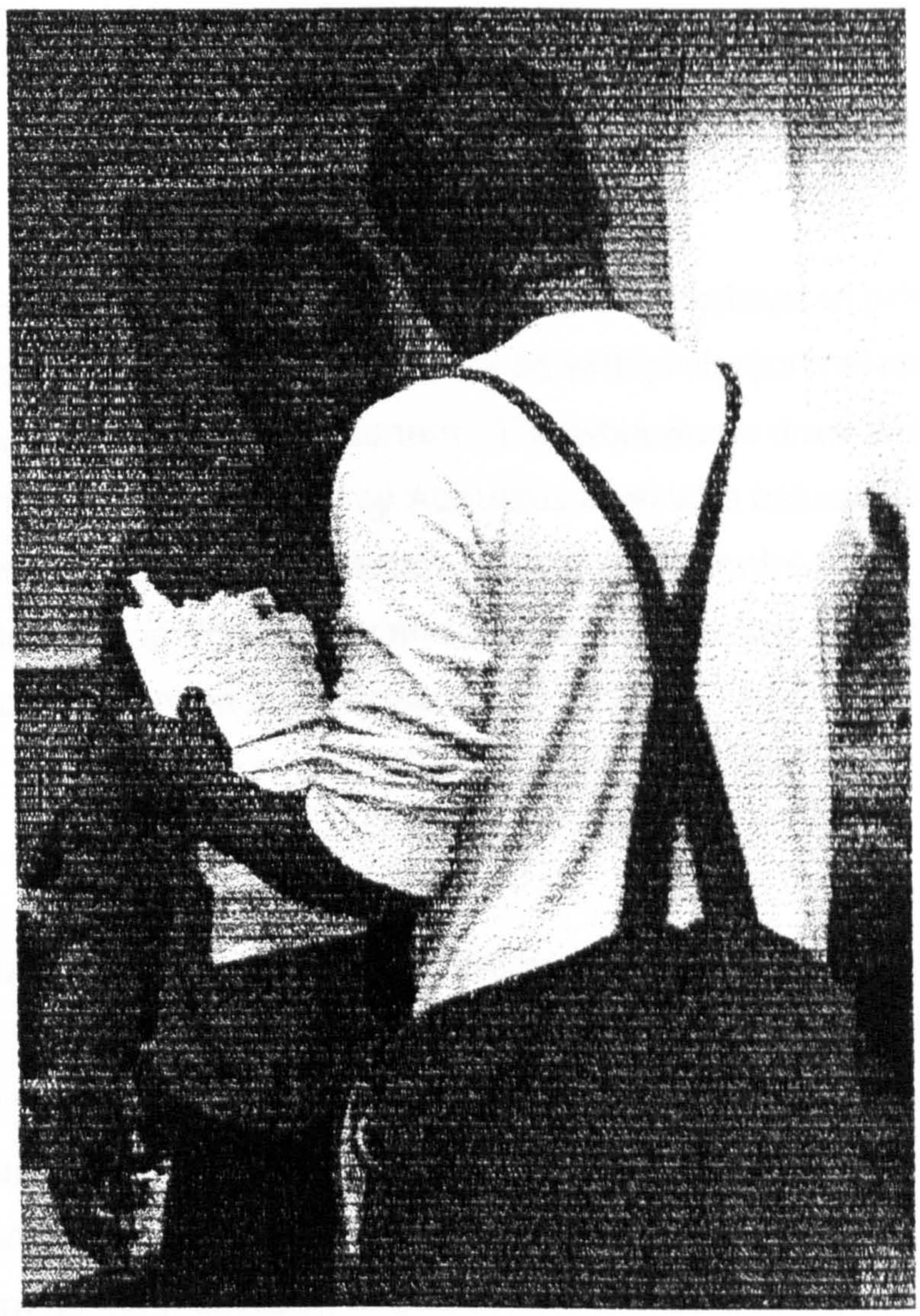

Fig.5: Insight Arts Trust performance at Creative Time – The Second European Conference on Theatre & Prison

Training courses are run for a variety of participants from theatre, criminal justice and education backgrounds to the general public. In association with the Drama Department at the University of Manchester, the centre advises and contributes to undergraduate and MA courses in Prison Theatre. The TIPP Centre has been working in Brazilian prisons since 1992 where they have set up

major projects to develop cultural programmes and alternative to custody drama schemes. The centre is largely involved with the European Network for Theatre and Prison.

Forum

The TIPP Centre facilitates Forum Theatre workshops in prisons with inmates and prison staff as well as with probation officers, students and theatre practitioners. The workshops draw directly on the Forum Theatre created by Augustus Boal who actually leads some of the training programmes himself. The centre also facilitates Prison Forum residencies with inmates that last for a week, culminating in a performance.

Bully!

The Bully! Project is a flexible five-day programme which employs drama techniques and visual aids to enable a group to explore the issues surrounding bullying. Using role-play, the group examines real cases, the causes of bullying and the consequences for victims and those doing the bullying. The course provides an opportunity to examine the motivation of bullies, the pressures involved in bullying, the long-term effects on victims of bullying as well as exploring different ways of behaving. The group is encouraged to devise a list of anti-bullying strategies that can be rehearsed through role-play with the objective of use in real life.

The project was originally created in 1993 in partnership with HMYOI[16] Hindley to provide a drama centred approach to examine bullying in the whole institution, for both staff and inmates. The programme is suitable for use with young offenders, probation

clients and criminal justice staff and is designed primarily to offer creative alternatives to bullying culture.

Blagg!

Blagg! is the TIPP Centre's programme aimed at challenging offending behaviour through group work. Created in 1992 in partnership with Greater Manchester Probation Service, Blagg! has been used with a variety of prison and probation groups. A number of issues and offences are examined through a workshop, including drugs, joyriding, violence and burglary. Offending behaviour group work exercises are adapted into drama-based techniques that are easily accessible to clients, inmates and staff. The workshop lasts two hours, a day or can be used as a starting point for a longer course. It attempts to debate, discuss and challenge offending behaviour providing personal strategies to enable the offender to avoid further offending. The TIPP staff also train probation and prison staff to run Blagg! themselves and the specialised set used in the workshop can even be made up to order.

The Pump!

Devised in partnership with Greater Manchester Probation Service and funded by the Home Office, The Pump! runs for eight two-hour sessions but single sessions can also be integrated into established anger management programmes. It can either be facilitated by TIPP staff or probation and prison staff can be trained to run the workshop(s) themselves.

The course is split into three sections: 'The Pump', 'The Jack' and 'The Behaviour Box'.

The Pump:
Practical methods of re-appraising and dealing with high-risk situations are introduced. A large anger thermometer is used as a central prop, which is used by the group members to measure levels of anger. It is also used to distinguish between Knocks (provocation that cannot be avoided), Wind Ups (deliberate acts of provocation) and Pumps (internal thoughts or feelings that provoke anger).

The Jack:
This section of the workshop seeks to unravel the common misconception amongst offenders that violence 'just happens'. Violent incidents are examined in detail to show how they occurred, what came before, what the intentions were, what actually happened, what was said or done, what did the offender feel, what was the effect for the victim(s) and what trigger factors were involved.

The Behaviour Box:
Different responses to anger are examined including aggression, indirect aggression, assertiveness and 'bottling it up'. Types of behaviour are identified and victim impact is addressed.

<u>Living Together - Drama Workshops for Hostels</u>

Living Together is a drama-based course specifically devised for hostel residents. Conflict resolution strategies are examined along with other problems facing hostel residents. A fictional character is

created by the group and his or her journey and progress through hostel life is examined. The workshop aims to provide a positive and creative environment in which to develop living together skills. As with all the TIPP Centre courses and programmes, Living Together is flexible but generally includes six two-hour sessions and a staff-training day (TIPP, 1996: Thompson, 1998).

Saul Hewish

Saul Hewish is currently one of the countries leading practitioners of Drama Work with offenders. He has over twelve years experience of working with offenders, predominantly violent and/or sex offenders. Hewish was interviewed as part of this research and the information obtained from this accomplished practitioner proved to be very valuable. As a founder member of Geese Theatre Company GB and the company director for five years, Hewish has worked extensively in British prisons, special hospitals and with probation clients. In 1994, Hewish left Geese Theatre Company GB and went to the United States to work alongside John Bergman for two years.

The experience Hewish gained in the United States was invaluable. One of the major differences between the United States and Great Britain concerned the availability of treatment programmes. While treatment programmes are rare in British prisons, they are more easily available in the States. Hewish and Bergman were often working with violent or sex offenders in US prisons who had been in treatment programmes for three or four years. In that sort of climate, Drama Work and Dramatherapy are treated with a greater level of acceptance. The offenders are less afraid to speak about their feelings, a central component of Dramatherapy and Drama

Work. Hewish claims this is partly due to differences in American culture. While there is still a stigma attached to being in therapy in this country, it is deemed acceptable, almost the norm in the States.

> America is culture of confession to some extent, the notion of having a therapist or being in therapy is very normal which is very different to this country where there is still a lot of stigma attached to it. So that combined with the American culture of talking... you could go into a room of inmates and say one thing and suddenly the whole group would open up, everyone talking and one thing would lead to another and you can work really fast (Hewish, 20.01.99, London).

American prisons vary dramatically from state to state but there is a culture of therapy and treatment in prison, which is lacking in this country where there is only one therapeutic prison, HMP Grendon, though further units are planned. Hewish states that the prisons in the Northern States have a higher precedence for treatment programmes. One prison where Hewish worked in Missouri took two inmates sentenced to life without parole and trained them as drugs councillors. They then set up a treatment unit within the prison where other inmates could complete training programmes. Inmates would have to undergo a series of interviews in order to gain entry to the unit where they would then spend six months in treatment. At the first three interviews the inmates would simply be told the rules on the premise that if they kept going back for the subsequent interviews they must be serious about wanting to change their behaviour.

The inmates impose their own punishments on themselves for misdemeanours within the unit. This principle is also used in Delancey Street Prison in San Francisco and is based upon a method established in the Sixties. Hewish noted that the inmates

tended to impose very hard punishments upon themselves. On completing the programme, the inmates then become graduates and are sent to a separate unit within the prison rather than being sent back into the central system. Hewish states that one of the biggest problems with units in this country is that inmates are sent back into the main prison system:

> The problem with a lot of the units is that you come and they break down a lot of the prison culture and then you go back into mainstream prison culture and all those little defence and survival mechanisms come up again
>
> . (Hewish, 20.01.99, London).

At HMP Grendon inmates only stay for two or three years in treatment and there is a very long waiting list for entry.

Since returning from the States, Hewish has formed a new company called Acting Out. He works predominantly on his own and uses freelance Drama Workers for performances and some residencies. In the past few years, Hewish has been working on the premise of giving disenfranchised groups a voice through theatre. Much of this work has been with young people in care as well as prisoners and ex-offenders. Hewish is now drawing on his work in San Francisco with John Bergman, to create a new type of prison theatre, virtually unheard of in Great Britain.

> When I worked in the states with John (Bergman), we used to do these residencies in San Francisco either in the jail or in a half-way house. Those were always really high-profile public events, so in the jail we would work with a group of inmates for two weeks and at the end we would get all the inmates to come out of the jail and we would turn the theatre into the jail so there would be prison deputies guarding it and people would pay to come and see the shows. The performances were always really high quality. The

> audiences were really incredible because you had a lot of hardcore left wing radicals and liberals who came because it was prisoners doing theatre and then you'd get all the prisoners families and friends and people off the street from the district (Hewish, 20.01.99, London).

Hewish hopes to attempt a similar theatre project in Great Britain. While prisoners at open prisons, such as HMP Ford, are able to leave the prison confines to attend work and some family events, the concept of prisoners leaving a closed prison in this country is highly problematic. Few governors would jeopardise their positions by posing such a large security risk, particularly in light of the number of prisoners who have escaped privatised security firms in recent years.

However, the opportunity for Hewish to work in this way may be possible in the near future. Alongside Chris Johnston (formerly of Insight Arts Trust), Hewish has been planning a residency at HMYOI Swinfen Hall. The prison, along with three other young offenders institutions has been given £500,000 to put towards regime enhancement. Enlightened prison officials have accepted proposals by Hewish and Johnston who have been asked to run a major drama programme that could well serve as a pilot for other prisons.

The project is unique in that it may be permanently installed. Hewish and Johnston have been given a period of five months to work with inmates, and if the work is deemed successful, the programme has the potential to become a permanent part of the prison regime. The initial programme consists of reconstructing the process of prison induction. At present the four-week induction consists of the group of new inmates being spoken to by prison officers. For young offenders who often have very poor

concentration skills, this is clearly not an effective way of communicating the relevant information. Instead, Hewish and Johnston will use Drama Workshops and performances to instil the vital induction information.

A second area of work will involve what Hewish refers to as Experiential Testing. Inmates who have completed the prison's rehabilitation programmes will undergo a three-day intensive workshop with Hewish and Johnston, whereby they will be tested to see how much they have internalised from the programmes. There will also be scope for re-training where necessary.

The third section of the pilot scheme will be to create a long-term prison theatre company and a Creativity and Learning module, involving in-depth Drama Work programmes. Hewish hopes the resident prison theatre company may work outside the prison itself:

> One of the ideas we mooted with Swinfen was to set up a prison theatre company but to then have them tour to other prisons. Ideally what I'd love is to do something similar to what we did in San Francisco, to go to a big theatre, take it over but the kind of resource implications for the prison service are quite big (Hewish, 20.01.99, London).

Ideally, Hewish would like to see a long-term pre-release drama programme installed in all prisons in this country, similar to the programmes Bergman has managed to install in some US jails. He also favours the idea of an expressive arts unit available to the entire prison population which, while not necessarily therapy-led, would have facets of arts based therapies and also the scope to allow creative work without a strict therapeutic aim.

Hewish cannot deny the influence that Geese Theatre Company has had on his work, but he cites John Bergman's work in the USA as the biggest influence. Prior to Geese, Hewish was influenced by Gorilla Street Theatre, Agit Prop, Living Theatre and other Sixties political theatre companies. The political determination of Hewish is apparent in his current work, aiming to give the disenfranchised populations a voice (Saul Hewish , 1999).

Stephen Plaice

Although Stephen Plaice is a writer and not a Drama Worker, he has had considerable impact on the development of drama in prison. Plaice has published two collections of poetry and is co-editor of leading literary magazine The Printer's Devil. As a playwright, many productions of his work have received critical acclaim including Shaker Production's touring production of 'Trunks', which received two London runs, one at Battersea Arts Centre and the second at The Lyric Theatre in Hammersmith, and much critical acclaim, in 1994. Plaice is also co-artistic director of Alarmist Theatre Company. He now writes for Thames Television's police drama series 'The Bill'.

Plaice's residency at HMP Lewes was originally set up in 1987 as a collaboration between the prison's education department and the Literature Department of South East Arts. TVS Trust mostly funded it with a contribution from South East Arts and the prison education budget. Education Office Will Hannam and Literature Officer at SE Arts Nicky Singer were largely responsible for the creation of the post. Plaice worked in the prison for three days each week, predominantly with long-term prisoners and lifers. In 1987, Lewes was a category B prison with three functions. It was a training

prison with 150 long-term prisoners of which about 50 were convicted to life sentences. It was also a local prison with about the same number of short-term convicted prisoners. There were also approximately 200 remand prisoners held at Lewes.

While Plaice's achievements in terms of literacy and creative writing were excellent, he also took on the adhoc role of a Drama Worker, encouraging prison theatre. In 1988, under the instigation of Plaice, prisoners and members of Alarmist Theatre Company performed 'Transportation', a play about Nineteenth Century convicts. In 1989, Plaice invited Geese Theatre Company to visit the prison and work with the inmates. A tradition of prison theatre and drama was beginning to emerge within the prison and in 1990 the inmates performed in a Christmas pantomime 'Jack and the Beanstalk'. BBC Radio 4 made a radio programme on Plaice's work, 'Whispers on the Wing', which included poetry by inmates.

Inmate and long-term prisoner John Williams had his prison journals published in The Printer's Devil and began an association with Plaice, which changed the face of prison theatre quite dramatically. BBC Radio 4 made a programme about John's release from prison, 'On the Out' that looked at his creative work with Plaice. In 1991, Plaice instigated a residency by Glyndebourne Music Workshop using music and drama with inmates. He also invited Compass Theatre into the prison to perform 'Cheap Thrills'. Singer and actress Toyah Wilcox was a member of the company.

Glyndebourne Opera Company's education unit visited the prison on 1992 for a week-long residency and the final presentation of the opera was devised with the inmates and was so successful that the experience was repeated in 1994.

Although it was predominantly an opera project, Drama Workshops took place and acting skills were learnt in the process. The collaboration between Glyndebourne and HMP Lewes on the instigation of Stephen Place was deemed a huge success. Prison officers, officials, education staff, inmates and the Governor himself watched the performance.

Plaice alongside ex-inmate John Williams devised a play produced by Alarmist Theatre Company, which toured venues including the Edinburgh Fringe Festival in the mid-1990s. The play, 'Whose Crime Is It Anyway?' was probably the first professional production raising themes about the criminal justice system and criminal behaviour, performed by an ex-offender sentenced to life in prison. After growing up in a variety of children's homes, Williams spent 20 years of his life in prison. Having spent his sentence in several different prisons he became an acute observer of prison life.

'Whose Crime Is It Anyway?' was William's real life account of being an armed robber. In a snappy cabaret style satire, the play unmasked society's hidden responses to the image of the criminal and the prison system. It was one of the significant moments in the history of drama with ex-offenders (di Girolamo, 1994: Plaice, 12.06.94, HMP Lewes).

John Williams is not the only ex-prisoner to have a profound affect on prison theatre. Ex-offender turned writer Anna Reynolds has been writing about the issues faced by women in prison for the last eight years. Convicted for life for murder, Reynolds was released after an appeal.

Since release, Reynolds has had three successful plays produced, firstly 'Jordan' the story of a woman Reynolds was in prison with, who committed infanticide. Clean Break then commissioned 'Red'

a play about women who kill their violent partners, which toured theatres and prisons. While writer-in-residence with Paines Plough, Anna Reynolds wrote 'Wild Things', centred on a psychiatric ward. Reynolds' first novel 'Insanity' was published in 1996 and a film adaptation is currently in development. It was the skill and inspiration of a writer in residence and Drama Work at HMP Holloway that spurred Reynolds' desire to write for the theatre, previously an unknown territory. In fact, when Reynolds wrote Jordan, she had never been to a theatre before in her life (Reynolds, 20.07.94, London).

Although it is problematic to form a chronology of the history of Drama Work in prisons at this stage in its development, this chapter attempts to examine many of the most significant moments that will eventually make up a history. In order to further explore the nature of such projects, it is essential to look at the ways in which these projects are funded.

Sources of Funding for Prison Drama Activities

While the companies discussed in this chapter are funded by a large number of funding bodies, some of which have been listed above, Drama Work conducted solely in prison is not funded by outside bodies. The prison itself funds the majority of arts activities mainly through the education budget. If a prison wants to invite a company like Insight Arts Trust or Geese Theatre Company GB to perform or run a workshop in the prison, with exceptions they must find the funding themselves. It should be noted that Insight Arts Trust have been known to offer a show at a vastly reduced cost to a prison with little drama activity and no money to buy in the show.

The 1990s have seen dramatic changes in the way prison education departments are facilitated. The departments have been privatised and tendered out to further education colleges. This has meant large cuts in budget and curriculum with the arts being the first to receive funding cuts. Many prisons that have previously held a substantial record of drama activities have reduced this area dramatically.

In general, those prisons that featured the highest number of arts projects had collaborated with outside organisations in order to seek extra funding for particular projects. The use of outside funds is concentrated in only a few prisons. For example one Category C prison is responsible for five cases of funding from an organisation within the Shape Network (a major source of funding for prison arts activities) and three closed YOIs used Regional Arts funding on seven separate occasions. With few exceptions, it appears that little has been done to seek collaboration with external organisations to fund drama and other arts activities.

The following table compiled by the author demonstrates that the majority of drama projects are funded by the prison concerned.

Table 1: Prison Drama Funding: 31.3.97-31.3.98

Source of Funding	Number of prisons using the source	Number of Drama activities funded
Education budget and Prison general purpose fund	72	691
Charities and donations	6	8
Regional Arts Associations	15	28
Companies	6	7
Sales and Subscribers	6	8
Local Authority	6	8
College	2	2
Chaplaincy	1	1
Shape network	6	11
Other	11	18

Statistics collated by the researcher, 1998.

The prisons that do collaborate with external bodies tend to be those whose governors, directors of regime and education department leaders favour arts activities. While one prison may have two drama evening classes per week, a prison drama group who put on their own productions, a number of visiting theatre companies and residencies per year, another similar prison may have no drama at all. In prisons that host a writer in residence there is often a higher number of drama activities, initiated by the writer. HMP Lewes facilitated a high number of drama projects under the initiation of Stephen Plaice while he was writer in residence. Appendix Five shows Table 3, which demonstrates

drama activities in British prisons between January 1995 and January 1997, giving a detailed breakdown of activities in specific prisons. Table 2 demonstrates the number of activities in British prisons as a whole during the same period.

Table 2: Drama Activities in British Prisons
Period 31 January 1995 - 31 January 1997

No. of Prisons	Performances	Workshops	Residencies	Other
122	151	45	42	69

From the information given, over the two-year period, there were only 45 Drama Workshops at a total of 122 prisons. The 69 'other' activities included drama classes and performances devised by prison drama groups. While at first the 151 performances by outside companies may look impressive, it is important to remember that this is over a two year period at 122 prisons. As previously illustrated little can be achieved at one workshop or performance and it is only through residencies that Drama Work may have any long lasting effect. There were only 42 residencies at the 122 prisons in this two-year period. Since 1997 there have been further cuts to prison budgets and residencies and visits by external theatre companies have declined even further.

The research for this paper exposed that drama projects are less developed in remand or local prisons. In comparison with the number of prisoners they hold, there is a low proportion of recorded

activities. Their drama classes are most likely to be a part of the education day and evening programme and are less likely to be available outside of education and therefore are unavailable to the majority of inmates, namely the prisoners who do not take education.

Category A and B prisons recorded the highest level of drama activities when compared with the number of prisoners they hold. Category B and Dispersal prisons offered the highest number of drama programmes outside of the education day and evening classes.

The majority of prisons who had a poor history of Drama Work within the institution stated that the absence of such work was due to recent funding cuts and cuts in the prison budget as a whole. Many education departments said that there had been drama programmes or classes but these were cut due to low finances. On seeing a production of 'Our Country's Good' at HMP Wormwood Scrubs, Timberlake Wertenbaker was moved by the intensity of the inmate's production and stated in the preface to a later edition of the play, 'Many Education Departments of prisons are being cut – theatre comes under the Education Department – and the idea of tough punishment as justice seems to be gaining ground in our increasingly harsh society' (Wertenbaker, 1997:xlviii). It is, however, evident that many prisons have found a way round these cuts and are able to continue both regular drama classes and external projects by seeking funding outside the prison as I have detailed previously.

It is my recommendation that efforts should be made to encourage prisons to liase with outside organisations and Regional Arts Associations to raise funding for drama projects in prisons. The

provision of drama opportunities within local and remand prisons should be increased and a wider range of projects should be available such as visiting theatre companies and residencies.

In 1990, Anne Peaker and Jill Vincent of the Centre for Research in Social Policy at Loughborough University, published the findings of their study of the arts in prisons. The report titled, 'Arts in Prisons: Towards a Sense of Achievement' was commissioned by the Home Office Research and Planning Unit in conjunction with the Arts Council. The report examines the work of artists in prisons and the different way the activities are delivered: as day or evening class tutors within the prison education system, as performers, workshop leaders and as artists in residence.

Having investigated the work of a wide variety of artists, Peaker and Vincent found that a number of benefits afforded by such work were evident. Artists who ran sessions as part of the regular class provision considered that the arts 'offered prisoners a number of therapeutic benefits...' 'Prisoners acquired a sense of achievement and were able to work in a humanising environment' (Peaker and Vincent, 1990:106).

The artists under investigation regarded the arts as having a social value, aiding co-operation and creating opportunities for the inmates to be treated as adults. They also felt that opportunities were provided for prisoners to have an aim to pursue in their cells and also outside the prison following release. They felt that the arts provided a means to 'cheer prisoners up' in a negative and restraining environment.

Artists who gave performances usually followed by discussions and/or workshops, considered their work gave inmates a chance

to 'see and explore their problems in a new perspective' (Peaker and Vincent, 1990:106).

Their findings regarding residencies were that prisoners gained self-respect, self-knowledge and self-expression through their involvement. The inmates developed an ability to share, to co-operate, to mix with other prisoners as a direct result of the group work involved.

Peaker and Vincent recommend that the arts be available to all prisoners though sadly, nine years on the arts are still only available to a privileged minority. In general it is the Head of Education who is responsible for drama and other arts projects entering the prison. The first hurdle is of course financial and if overcome another lies in wait for many inmates. It is most likely that only those who take part in education will receive the benefit of visiting artists, practitioners and companies (Peaker and Vincent, 1990).

An example of this emerged during an Insight Arts Trust residency at HMYOI Norwich in March 1998. The Insight Arts Trust team[17] facilitated a five-day drama residency at the prison. Insight had been assured that the inmates had been carefully selected for the programme according to whether or not they were keen to pursue drama and whether they had drama experience outside or inside the prison system. It became evident several minutes into the first session that none had an interest in drama, two had done some drama at school and none had chosen to attend the workshop. They had simply been told to attend. One prisoner stated: 'They read out a list of names and tell us which classroom to go to. We don't get a choice. Mostly we don't even have any toilet paper

here let alone decent education' (Inmate 3: 20.03.98, HMYOI Norwich).

As the residency progressed the Insight team had to battle with the prison authorities to simply retain the same group for the five days as they had been assured they could. Each day they would be sent prisoners they had never met and each day at least two of the group would be missing. This was not due to the prisoners being retained on the wing or any other prison bureaucracy but because they had simply been sent to another class by education staff. The impression given was that their education was not valuable. Sadly, the majority of prison Drama Workers interviewed for this paper had experienced similar situations and felt that prison officers were undermining valuable work. One Drama Worker who wished to remain anonymous stated:

> The prison officers just don't care about our work. They see drama as a 'treat' and don't consider the prisoners deserving of treats. They don't see the good that it can do. They want the prisoners to behave, to do what they want them to do. They want the prison population to be easy to handle (Drama Worker 2, 16.04.95, Birmingham).

Hopefully, new initiatives leaning towards the importance of education, implemented by Anna Salnow, the new Head of Education at HMYOI Norwich will improve the situation. Meanwhile, a system is in operation whereby the prisoners get little or no say over their education and those who do not receive any education in prison are deprived of residencies, performances and workshops.

There are, however, prisons whose education departments and officers are willing to support the efforts of Drama Workers. One such prison is HMYOI Lancaster Farms. In 1998, the Insight Arts

Trust team[18] took a production of 'The Art of Being in the Wrong Place at the Wrong Time', a film/theatre production concerned with the issues of crime (see Chapter Six) and the affiliated workshop to HMYOI Lancaster Farms. The play was made available to the whole prison population and not just those privileged enough to attend education. The attending prison officers were supportive. The regime of the prison was clearly focussed towards rehabilitation, helping the prisoners learn from their mistakes and the prison exploited all means of doing this including Drama Work.

Social Attitudes to Drama Work With Offenders

The current social and political attitude towards offending behaviour causes a number of problems for Drama Workers and the facilitation of projects in prison or with probation groups. With prison populations rising daily, the Labour Government are keen to crack down on crime in response to an angry public. The late 1990s have seen a trend where television networks are saturated with programmes about offending behaviour, in the form of fly-on-the-wall documentaries, examinations of specific cases, footage from security cameras and programmes like 'Crimewatch' which aim to gain public support and intervention in combating crime.

The tabloid press have played a fundamental role in fuelling public attitudes to offending behaviour by rousing public feeling in an inflammatory manner. Photographs and names and addresses of paedophiles have been published in an attempt to incite the public and the government into action. These sorts of articles and the issues involved are highly emotive and add fuel to the public rage. While the murder of children by paedophiles or the rape of a woman on the street by a stranger is not a common occurrence, tabloid coverage of such crimes makes them seem so and encourages public hysteria and a cry for action. There is a general social feeling that crime is escalating and that the government is not doing enough to protect the public. Public pressure is forcing the government to take radical action.

Measures to protect the public from potential offenders by implementing the right to institutionalise potential offenders whether they have committed a crime or not, was discussed by the government in February 1999. If implemented, a new bill will allow the detention of offenders and non-offenders, who suffer from

untreatable personality disorders. The government claim this initiative will help to make our streets a safer place and reduce escalating crime statistics. It appears that the public are being given what they want in this case and perhaps they will reciprocate in the form of votes. However, one must question whether or not what the public wants is based on hard facts or tabloid-induced hysteria. Drama Work, like other interventions, exists in an attempt to help the offender confront his or her own behaviour with the possibility of modifying or changing that behaviour. However, despite its attempts to reduce offending behaviour, Drama Work and other similar interventions attract wide spread criticism.

In an article appearing in The Independent on May 21st 1995, journalist Rosie Waterhouse demonstrated some interesting statistics relating to Category B serious offenders at the therapeutic prison, HMP Grendon in Buckinghamshire:

> In a recent article, Eric Cullen, the prison's head of psychology, showed that the rate of re-offending for inmates who stayed in therapy at Grendon for 19 months or more fell significantly. His findings were confirmed by a study which followed up a sample of 150 inmates and found that of those who underwent less than 18 months in therapy, half were re-convicted after two years. But of those who were in therapy for 19 months or more, just 19 percent re-offended. This compares with the national average of between 42 and 50 per cent for Category B prisoners (Waterhouse, 1995:19).

In general, it appeared that the longer men stayed in therapy, the lower their rates of offending and an essential component of the therapy at Grendon is drama and role-play related. Companies such as Geese Theatre GB are regular visitors to Grendon. In 1995 Insight Arts Trust's 'Anger Dyes' programme was Taken to HMP Grendon and Drama Workers were impressed by the level of commitment and support offered by the staff in relation to other

prisons hosting Category B offenders. The re-conviction rate for men who had spent 19 months or more in therapy and were then released from Grendon direct into the community without supervision orders (as opposed to those released from other prisons) fell to 20 per cent. With supervision on parole the rate fell to 10 per cent. (Waterhouse, 1995)

Following these research findings, the Home Office is considering the conversion of a further two prisons into therapeutic communities like Grendon, where Drama Work will play an important part. The Prison Board has accepted the concept in principle and it is now the decision of the Home Secretary as to whether the plan goes ahead. The reward would be a reduction in re-offending. However, such regimes attract criticism, not only from victims of violent crime but also from the media, supposedly in the name of public opinion. Waterhouse discusses a headline in tabloid newspaper The Sun, which dubbed Grendon a 'Perverts Paradise'. Such adverse publicity is bound to rouse public opposition (Waterhouse, 1995).

> The mass media can, in situations where there is limited knowledge of the attitudes of other groups, present themselves reified public opinion. They can, therefore, purport to carry the consensual opinion on any incident, idea, or image of a deviant group. They can provide the 'facts' to society... (Young, 1974:231)

Young continues to discuss what he terms 'Deviance Amplification'. He suggests that the mass media can induce 'moral panics' which may 'contribute to the misconception of deviants, the intensity of social reaction, and the extent to which deviance amplification occurs' (Young, 1974:256).

A Home Secretary is unlikely to act against the so-called 'public opinion' on crime and punishment. In 1993, the country witnessed the then Conservative Home Secretary Michael Howard's desperation to please the public in the Bulger case. Toddler Jamie Bulger was abducted and murdered in February 1993 in Liverpool by two eleven year old boys. It was found by the Court of Appeal that Michael Howard ignored social and psychiatric reports in favour of the submission of evidence relating to the state of public opinion while evidence relating to the criminals, in this case two young boys, their backgrounds, personal traumas that may have led them to commit their crime, was ruled out. In this case, the Court of Appeal concluded that Howard was wrong to respond to public pressure in this way. The Bulger murder was exceptionally horrific and shocking to the national psyche. Any attempts to defend the rights of its perpetrators are bound to be deeply unpopular (Sereny, 1995:275-333).

It is important to note that by 'public opinion' I refer to politicians' usage of the term in legitimising their political acts. As we discovered in the brief historical overview of prison in Chapter One, changes in legislation about crime and methods of combating crime were originally and foremost promoted by the relevant Home Secretaries with reference to what 'the public wants'. In general 'public opinion' like 'the national interest' is a blurred concept without much tangible reference to their constitution. Society is diverse enough to have not just one 'opinion' but many 'opinions'. In a pluralistic society there are public opinions rather than a mass opinion. There is also an empirical problem, that is, even if one could define public opinion, one may have difficulty locating it anywhere.

Public opinion is fluid and flexible which means the moment it is identified, it may only refer to those few people, to a specific period in time, in a specific setting and about a specific issue. Even in that context returning to the same few people, which would be a different context and timing one may find a totally different and elusive public opinion.

The 'moral panics' Young discusses also remain elusive and un-substantiated. For example Vass in his work AIDS: The Making of a Social Problem (AIDS: A Plague in Us, A Social Perspective 1986:125-150), found that the establishment of an issue as a major public concern, (crime, social problems) may depend on moral entrepreneurs on moral panics. The process is far more complicated and dynamic than Young suggests. While Young's view is clearly of interest one may also suggest it is slightly simplistic and mechanical.

The Bulger case was unique in its extensive media coverage, which one might contend, was a direct result of the video footage of the primary stages of the crime. When the footage was played on national television and stills were printed in national newspapers, the public were able to view the offenders leading the toddler away to his death. Had these images not graced our screens, it is quite possible that the case would not have exploded in to a so-called 'moral panic'. In 1968, when Mary Bell murdered two toddlers, there was no emotive video footage and the case was treated with greater dignity by the media. That is to say that her photograph and name were kept secret for a considerable period of time and efforts were made to understand her crime rather than condemn it.

Mary Bell was successfully rehabilitated and, after serving her prison sentence, she was relocated and renamed, where until

Sereny's second book on the case, Cries Unheard, Bell was able to live her life quietly without media intervention. In Bell's case, unlike the Bulger case, the rights of the offender were deemed more important than the rights the government claimed the public held. I contend that it is precisely in cases as difficult and shocking as the Bulger case, that the rights of the offender and the desperate need to help the offender address the gravity of his crime, be it through Drama Work or some other intervention, are essential. Offenders who commit incredibly violent acts and even murder are rarely convicted for the rest of their lives, even if a 'life' sentence is given. Within a relatively short period of time they will be released back into the community, often with little follow up supervision. I pose the following question: if no treatment is received in prison, what can we expect from the behaviour of the offender on release? In the case of young offenders this problem is highlighted. Young offenders institutions are notoriously viewed as a training ground for crime where a child as young as 14 will mix with much older offenders and learn the tools necessary for a criminal career. It is during these impressionable years that the re-training of behaviour is most likely to benefit the offender and in turn the community at large in the reduction of the likelihood of re-offending by the individual.

In this respect, it may be of interest to the reader to refer to Appendix Six, a case study of a young offender convicted for armed robbery. Through education, both in prison and after release, and through extensive Drama Work with Insight Arts Trust, he has not re-offended since his release some six years ago. Both his academic and professional theatre achievements are remarkable. He is just one of many success stories from Insight Arts Trust. Clean Break, Geese and other Drama Work facilitators have their own success stories to tell, too. If practitioners of Drama Work and

other interventions bow to so called 'public opinion' and curtail their work, there would be little left within the system to combat offending behaviour. Locking offenders up for periods of time will not in itself reduce the likelihood of re-offending on release.

I believe the model of the therapeutic prison is essential in combating re-offending rates despite its lack of 'public' support. With a social and political climate that demands severe penalties for offenders, the role of the Drama Worker, a person attempting to help an offender, is dimly viewed. Due to its low public profile, Drama Work is not understood in any great depth. The 'public' perception might be that drama is an enjoyable pastime and that offenders are not deserving of such a luxury. It is rarely viewed as a helpful intervention that may reduce the likelihood of recidivism.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the history of the prison and looked at the way the prison system operates in this country. I have attempted to chart the history of prison theatre by examining the significant moments and contributors. I have discussed the nature of the work of a number of companies and practitioners. Furthermore, I have discussed how funding implications affect prison drama activities. I have then continued to examine social attitudes to offending behaviour and the problems these produce for Drama Workers.

Despite this review of the major companies and practitioners, the absence of drama as a possible addition or alternative to current debates or practices in dealing with offenders is evident. Although drama with offenders shows itself on occasions or in unstructured ways in some prison establishments, it has not become an institutional means of assisting prisoners and those released, to amend their attitude as well as their actions. By institutional, I mean that Drama Work is neither embedded nor ingrained in official policy or practice.

The following chapter will take up the issue of drama with offenders with a review of the existing literature.

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[1] For an explanation of the term Drama Worker, please refer to the glossary, which can be found in Appendix 6.

[2] See Appendix 15 for contact details.

[3] See Appendix 15 for contact details.

[4] More commonly referred to as the TIPP Centre, see Appendix 15 for contact details.

[5] Saul Hewish was director of Geese Theatre Company for five years and now runs Acting Out Company. Further information can be found on p.66.

[6] Chris Johnston was the Projects Director of Insight Arts Trust from its formation in 1987 until 1998 when he left the company to work on a freelance basis.

[7] Anna Reynolds was released from prison on appeal and became a professional writer. She has written a novel, 'Insanity', and several very successful plays. She also writes for television.

[8] See p.71 for further information about Stephen Plaice.

[9] PRINDUS products are products made by prisoners within the prison industry

[10] Anne Peaker and Gill Vincent have carried out extensive research in to arts based activities in prison. A number of reports have been published, details may be found within the Bibliography.

[11] Since 1995 there has been a yearly European Conference on Theatre in Prison and Probation.

[12] John Bergman founded Geese Theatre Company in the USA: see page 40 for further details.

[13] This term is explained within the glossary which can be found in Appendix 6 and further information on Psychodrama may be obtained in Chapter Two.

[14] While the considerable contribution of Chris Johnston (formerly of Insight Arts Trust) to the development of Drama Work is acknowledged, I have not devoted a section specifically to his work. This is because his work is so central to the work of Insight Arts Trust as discussed throughout this research, that a separate section would involve repetition of information.

[15] The Artist Inside, the first National Symposium on Prison, Probation and the Arts, June2-6, 1992.

[16] HMYOI is the abbreviation for Her Majesties Young Offender Institution.

[17] The author was one of the Insight Arts Trust Drama Worker's facilitating this project.

[18] The author was one of the Insight Arts Trust Drama Worker's facilitating this project.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Chapter Two considers the literature that has informed Drama Work. Due to its similarities and undoubted influence, (Stamp, 1998), Dramatherapy is examined in detail, from inception to modern applications. Moreno's Psychodrama and Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed, both considered to be primary influences, (Johnston, 1997; Hewish, 1999; Gladstone, 1999) are explored. In addition, Cognitive-Behaviourist approaches and self-esteem theories on offending are briefly considered.

Literature about Drama Work with offenders is scarce. The area is still in its infancy and, prior to this research, little has been cohesively documented about its history or practice. In 1992, the publication of Shakespeare Comes To Broadmoor edited by Murray Cox, presented the reader with varied perspectives on Dramatherapy, Psychodrama and drama in custodial settings. Concentrating on specific performance projects at Broadmoor Special Hospital in Berkshire, working with psychiatric patients, the book did not particularly contribute to the subject of Drama Work in prison. It did, however, spark some debate and attempt to encourage further research and the creation of a more thorough work. Cox states, 'Over the years, I have been aware of various comments from colleagues and have read the occasional article on the topic of drama in custodial settings. But I cannot recall seeing a substantial volume, which the theme merits' (Cox, 1992:182). Cox continued,

> The place of drama in custodial settings is a topic waiting to be tackled. It seems pertinent to add that even though computer searches and personal enquiry have failed to come up with any substantial survey of this theme, if such a work does exist, the author justly deserves our

> apologies. Indeed, it may well be that such a much needed work is in preparation (Cox, 1992:185).

It has been clear for some years, to the many practitioners of Drama Work, that such a substantial study should exist. It was only towards the end of 1998 that a collection of writing by practitioners in the field, entitled Prison Theatre – Perspectives and Practices edited by James Thompson, director of the TIPP Centre, was published. It does not provide any real analysis of the role of drama in prisons but rather examines the work of individual practitioners. While this is a useful contribution to the academic study of theatre in prison, Thompson claims the infancy of the area does not allow for in-depth study. In Thompson's introduction to the book he states:

> At this stage in the development of theatre in prisons it is more important to hear a telling of experience, than to start to construct an academic boundary around the field (Thompson, 1998:11).

While I appreciate the immense difficulties involved in trying to chart, chronologically, the history of an area where isolated projects have barely been documented, I contend Thompson's statement that the infancy of the area does not allow for 'in-depth study'. By examining the nature of the work itself and looking at the influences upon that work, in-depth study is surely possible.

Drama in Custodial Settings

> Drama, ritual, theatre, performance, séance, ceremonial, enactment, role-play – whichever word we are to use – have all been part of ancient healing practice, dating back into our history and pre-history (Jennings, 1992b:230).

Drama has been available to human beings for many centuries and in many guises, to entertain, to heal, to amuse, to teach, to learn. Drama holds amazing possibilities for those who are suffering internally or externally. It is unsurprising, then, that those held in captivity should turn to drama to ease their plight. It is impossible to say when the first prisoner performed for his fellow prisoners amusement or when the first group of inmates decided to act out a scene portraying their lot. History has unkindly failed to notate such events, which surely have occurred in one form or another.

Taplin notates a remarkable, and possibly the first, example of captives performing for their captors.

> After the disastrous defeat of the Athenians in Sicily in 414-3 BC, the survivors were set to work in the stone-quarries of Syracuse, which also formed, in effect, an inescapable dungeon. The story, which survives both in a romanticized version in the late biographer Plutarch and in a simpler version from the Alexandrian intellectual Satyrus, tells how those who could remember the lyric choruses of Euripides were granted their freedom, especially if they taught the plays to the sons of their jailors (Taplin, 1992:187).

Plato set two of his most celebrated dialogues 'Crito' and 'Phaedo' in the death cell of Socrates, a custodial setting (Taplin, 1992), and since then playwrights have visited many a prison cell within their texts. Athol Fugard's 'The Island' is set in South Africa's notorious Robbin Island, where two inmates plan their own version of Sophocles' 'Antigone' for festive

entertainment (Taplin, 1992). 'Our Country's Good' by Timberlake Wertenbaker is set in an Australian convict colony where inmates plan a production of Farquhar's 'The Recruiting Officer'. Wertenbaker's play was inspired by Thomas Keneally's novel 'The Playmaker' and drew heavily on Robert Hughes' 'The Fatal Shore', a factual account of the transportation of 160,000 convicts in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. Hughes' account confirms that a production of 'The Recruiting Officer' was in fact performed by convicts to celebrate the King's birthday in 1789 (Naismith, 1995:xviii). In the last ten years, theatre has become adept at portraying prison life. Anna Reynolds (see Chapter One), an ex-inmate herself, has examined prison in several of her plays. 'Jordan' examines the fate of a woman imprisoned after killing her child and attempting suicide, in an endeavour to stop the child being taken away by his father. My own play '1000 Fine Lines' (1997) examines the effects of imprisonment on a young woman. In 1995 Simon Gray's play 'Cell Mates' based on the story of George Blake's escape from Wormwood Scrubs, premiered in Guildford and transferred to the West End.

Clean Break, Geese Theatre Company and Insight Arts Trust have all presented plays that explore the impact of custodial sentencing. Insight Arts Trust's 'Dear John' examined the affect on a prisoner when his relationship broke down while in custody. It is, of course, inevitable that such companies should be preoccupied with the fate of their audiences.

In 1995, Northern Stage Company shocked audiences with their brutal portrayal of Anthony Burgess's prophetic novel and play 'A Clockwork Orange' at Newcastle Playhouse. Director Alan Lyddiard set the play in a shopping mall style white space where gangs of teenage boys roamed the streets, intoxicated with drugs, looking for the opportunity of violence. Abseiling in to the

sterile space, the Droogs and the Billy Boys fought over trussed-up women and violently assaulted the down and out. When anti-hero Alex found himself imprisoned he was strapped to a black PVC hospital bed, surrounded by masked PVC-clad nurses and doctors. He was forced to watch images of violence while being subjected to pain in an attempt to cure his violent impulses with Doctor Branom's aversion therapy. Prison violence was brought to life with brutal reality and shocked audiences reacted to a violent rape scene with walk-outs. The intention was not to offend but to 'raise the issue of youth crime' (Foster and Walsh, 1995:14). The associated conference 'Deprived or Depraved', chaired by Jon Snow, did just that on June 15, 1995. Bea Campbell, Professor Jock Young, probation officer James Thompson[1], prison governor Peter Atkinson and other well known experts took to the stage to debate the issues surrounding youth offending. The play which won excellent reviews and later a national tour, was used as the starting point for the debate.[2]

Modern playwrights like the late Sarah Kane and Simon Bennet, an ex-offender himself, have explored criminal activity in their recent works. Bennet's 'Drummers', the story of a group of burglars, won favourable reviews and a West End transfer in 1999. There have been recent theatrical explorations of several notorious crimes from Fred and Rosemary West's serial killings to the Moors Murders. The exploration of criminal life in theatre is nothing new. Many of Shakespeare's plays examined criminal behaviour and the surrounding issues; 'The Merchant of Venice' with its criminal trial and the murders in 'Macbeth' to name but two. While theatre and drama continue to explore the darker side of human existence, it is inevitable that our playwrights will deal with criminality and imprisonment in their works.

Searching for Literature

With insufficient literature available and in order to learn more about this area, I looked to the theoretical and methodological influences on my own work as well as the influences on the work of other practitioners in this field who I interviewed for this thesis. I also examined influential practitioners cited by Drama Workers within articles I have read and lectures or workshops that I have attended. In this way I aimed to get the widest amount of information possible about what has informed Drama Work and in so doing, find out more about the area itself. Due to the lack of literature documenting Drama Work with offenders or ex-offenders I have considered literature which has informed its development rather than literature about Drama Work in its current form.

I have studied literature on Dramatherapy and Psychodrama, two of the major influences on Drama Work with offenders. Indeed, these two areas have influenced the work of many of the companies leading the way in Drama Work with offenders. These include Geese Theatre Company GB and USA, Clean Break Theatre Company and the TIPP Centre among others. I have examined the work of Jacob Moreno (1892-1974) who developed Psychodrama in the 1920s and 1930s. Moreno is generally attributed with being the first person in modern times to apply drama to the solution of interpersonal problems and the growth of individual awareness (Davies, 1994). I have discussed the history and roots of Dramatherapy and its foundations in the work of Sue Jennings, founder of the Remedial Drama Group in the early 1960s. I have discussed in detail the work of Sally Stamp who has worked both as a drama therapist and Drama Worker at HMP Brixton and other London prisons and secure centres. Furthermore, I discuss the

similarities and differences between Psychodrama and Dramatherapy.

In examining the roots of Dramatherapy and, indeed, Drama Work, I have examined the considerable influence of practitioners such as Antonin Artaud, Jerzy Grotowski and Constantin Stanislavski.
I have also studied the work of Augusto Boal who has been cited as a major influence by many of the practitioners interviewed for this thesis, including Saul Hewish, Pauline Gladstone of Clean Break, and cited in literature by James Thompson, Alun Mountford and John Bergman.

I have examined Cognitive-Behaviourist approaches to offending behaviour with particular, reference to rational-emotive-behaviour-therapy, as these have been influential on the work of Geese GB in particular and also other Drama Workers (Hewish, 1999). I have also considered self-esteem theories of offending. The raising of self-esteem is a central component to Drama Work in prison and with probation clients (Johnston 1998, Gladstone 1999).

DRAMATHERAPY

In 1979, Dramatherapy was defined by the British Association of Dramatherapists (BADth) as:

> The means of helping to understand and alleviate social and psychological problems... and of facilitating symbolic expression, through which man may get in touch with himself, both as an individual and group, through creative structures involving vocal and physical communication (NADT, 1998)[3].

In 1991, BADth's definition was altered to:

> Dramatherapy is the intentional (planned) use of the healing aspects of drama in the therapeutic process (Jennings, 1994:16).

This statement implies that there are healing aspects to drama. In order to understand how drama may be 'healing' it is helpful to examine practical examples of Dramatherapy and to discuss what this area of work actually is. Little has been documented about Dramatherapy with offending populations and in this respect I will reflect on the work of Sally Stamp (see Chapter Two, page 105).

Roger Grainger discusses the notion of drama as a healing process in his book Drama and Healing - The Roots of Dramatherapy. He discusses how a powerful notion of psychic healing is that of the 'mystic journey' which appears in one form or another in the majority of cultures.

> Journeys have obvious therapeutic significance; we wish to move away from our present condition and to enter a sphere of increased wholeness and health. The mystical element represent the heart of the healing process. We journey into the 'centre' and out again (Grainger, 1990:35).

The symbol of the healing process is found in the journey itself. The journey is found in its most dramatic form in Shamanic religions where participants in the ritual claim to leave their own body and undergo a mystical journey to heaven or hell. Within Dramatherapy, Grainger states it is the journey the client makes that is a corporate experience with the director or therapist as the guide between the experiences of 'heaven' or 'hell'. Grainger continues:

> It is as if we are drawn out of ourselves, towards a larger wholeness, a more perfect harmony. Art expresses a poetic possibility, suggesting much more than it says. The greater the work of art, the more noticeable the

> sense of something unexpressed. It is by reminding us of the inexpressible that art heals (Grainger, 1990:36).

Grainger continues to discuss how the therapeutic use of art has the experience of 'being led out of oneself' as its central aim. Different worlds may be explored through the imagination and when this is done in a group, the imagination takes on a contagious quality, increasing its power in the presence of other people, 'This happens strikingly in dramatic experience.... it underlies the therapeutic use of drama' (Grainger, 1990:36).

In devising dramatic performance with ex-offenders on probation and in prison, an immense journey is undertaken. The journey from non actor to actor is a considerable one for the majority of prison inmates and probation clients, with many hurdles to overcome. For many offenders the only experience they have of drama is from their school days and may be very limited. When the nature or theme of the drama is the offender's own offending behaviour, an even greater journey is taken. Recognition of destructive behaviour is just the first step in the journey to fully address offending behaviour. Sharing similarities with Dramatherapy, it is a road travelled by the offender with the Drama Worker as his guide. In order to comprehend how this journey may occur, it is important to examine the nature of Dramatherapy.

Dramatherapy is the systematic and intentional use of drama/theatre processes and products to achieve therapeutic goals, systematic relief, emotional and physical integration and personal growth. It is an active experiential approach that facilitates the client's ability to tell his or her story. It aims to solve problems, to set goals and to help a client express feelings appropriately. It also aims for the client to achieve catharsis,

extend the depth and breadth of inner experience, improve interpersonal skills and relationships and to strengthen the ability to perform personal life roles while increasing flexibility between roles. Drama therapists are trained in theatre arts, psychology, psychotherapy and Dramatherapy and employ all of these practices within their work (NADT 1998, Jennings 1987a).

Robert J Landy, for example, has devised a four-part model to train drama therapists.

1. The self, involving the development of personal creativity and psychological awareness.
2. The client, involving an understanding of various disabled groups.
3. The techniques, involving a range of interdisciplinary practices.
4. The theory, involving interdisciplinary principles and philosophical considerations (Landy, 1996:4-5).

Dramatherapy combines traditional talk-based therapy with activities borrowed from theatre in order to promote emotional expression, insight and growth. Clients use both mind and body to portray feelings, or parts of themselves and others. Through the process of Dramatherapy, it is hoped the client may discover emotions and beliefs of which they were not previously aware. Through exploration and discussion of these previously hidden responses, a key step is made towards the healing process. Dramatherapy guides a client to activate change rather than to simply talk about it.

A client's concerns and problems are discussed prior to beginning therapy in order to clarify issues and goals. Issues can then be explored in a session. While some work takes place on a one-to-one basis between client and therapist, the majority of the work, particularly with offending populations, takes place within a group. Dramatherapist and pioneer of the

movement, Sue Jennings states that, 'Dramatherapy is a group process which explores, at many levels of metaphor, dramatic engagement between members of a group' (Jennings, 1994:1).

In groups, members are invited to support each other and to play roles of people, places and things that present challenges in life. Members may play characters in the life of the client on whom the work is centred at any particular time. They may take on the role of the client's boss or spouse, his or her child, other family members or even an inanimate object such as a drug, a bottle of alcohol or a prison gate. At times, all group members participate at once or one group member may direct a scene while others watch and witness. Time is allocated for talking about insights gained from the work in each session.

The History of Dramatherapy

> During the early 1960s, when so much of the establishment, including the certainties of psychiatry, was under attack by the newly liberated young, arts therapy groups began to be formed in Britain and in Continental Europe. They were influenced by the optimism of the times, when it seemed that new ideas and radical approaches to learning and the arts would really change society (Meldrum, 1992:12).

During the same period, international theatre director Peter Brook was experimenting with a variety of theatrical forms including Artaud's 'theatre of cruelty'. His experimentation resulted in his production of Peter Weiss's 'Marat-Sade' which had a considerable influence on Sixties theatre (Meldrum, 1992).

These radical approaches in drama and the educational work of Dorothy Heathcote, influenced Sue Jennings in the early 1960s and inspired her development of the Remedial Drama Group (Meldrum, 1992).

Dramatherapeutic practice as we now accept it started in the United Kingdom in the early Sixties. However, in most societies dramatic rituals have been used to bring about the healing of body and mind, and are still practiced today (Jennings, 1985,1994). The early Sixties saw the development of a remedial application of drama within an educational framework directed towards clinical areas. This practice was initiated by Jenning's Remedial Drama Group, which later became known as the Remedial Drama Centre based on the Holloway Road in London. For the first time in the history of Dramatherapy, the centre specialised in the training and practice of drama with

children and adults with a wide variety of disabilities and disturbances.

Later the centre became known as the Dramatherapy Centre, which was the forerunner of the now, British Association for Dramatherapists, the validating body for Dramatherapy training in the UK. In the United States the National Association for Dramatherapy or NADT fulfils a similar role.[4]

> The National Association for Dramatherapy is a non profit association incorporated in 1979 to establish and uphold high standards of professional competence and ethics among Drama Therapist's; to develop a criteria for training and registration; to sponsor publications and conferences; and to promote the profession of Dramatherapy through information and advocacy (NADT, 1998)[5]

By the early Seventies, training began to take on a more sophisticated form. The Dramatherapy Centre under the wing of Central London Polytechnic and Playspace offered part time one and two-year courses as well as weekend and summer schools, in Dramatherapy. Dramatherapy Consultancies formed to provide courses for professionals in the caring industries and to initiate research (Jennings, 1994). There are now a variety of full-time degree and diploma courses in Dramatherapy available in the UK with the most prominent being at Roehampton. Postgraduate study has been developed and there are now five MA courses in Dramatherapy.

Dr Sue Jennings was instrumental in the setting up of the Dramatherapy course at the University of Hertfordshire and is one of the pioneers of Dramatherapy in Great Britain. Having worked in the area for over thirty years, Jennings is an internationally known expert on Dramatherapy.

Sally Stamp's Dramatherapy in Prison

As previously discussed there are very few published accounts of Dramatherapy with offending populations. While leading practitioners may make references to the possibility or existence of the practice, few cases or projects have actually been documented. A brief account by Saunders (1992) who ran a closed Dramatherapy group at HMP Holloway, gives scant details and no real analysis of the work, concentrating on her own portrayal of Ophelia, as merited by the volume it appeared in. Sally Stamp, however, gives a detailed account of her work in prison.

Sally Stamp had taught drama and basic education at HMP Brixton and other London prisons for five years prior to training as a Dramatherapist. Her work has been fairly intensive in comparison to much of the prison regime with Stamp teaching five days a week. (It is rare to have a prison drama class that occurs more than once a week, if that). It was after teaching drama to inmates for some time that Stamp began to notice the effects of the work:

> Like many other people using drama in prisons I was struck by how powerful it was as a medium. It touched on all sorts of areas of the prisoners' lives and led them from being suspicious and defensive, to being able to trust each other and share their experiences (Stamp, 1998:89).

Stamp discovered that in the process of her work inmates found the need to discuss their own problems and offending behaviour through the drama classes. Feeling uneasy about this, she decided to embark upon training as a Dramatherapist. Like many other prison workers she recognised the lack of therapeutic services available to inmates outside of therapeutic

prisons such as HMP Grendon, and wanted to in some way redress this balance.

Since training, Stamp has worked solely in secure institutions, prisons, adolescent secure units and in a Regional Secure Unit. The prisons were mainly large high-security male prisons where the inmates offences varied considerably and the turnover was high. The adolescent secure units were Local Authority institutions where Stamp worked with 'Section 53' male clients aged between 14 and 18. Those held under 'Section 53' have committed very serious offences such as rape, murder and arson. If these offences were committed as an adult, a lengthy custodial sentence would have been imposed. The Regional Secure Unit Stamp currently works in (1998) holds male and female psychiatric offenders diagnosed with a mental illness. As a hospital setting, the emphasis is on treatment rather than custody. For the purpose of this thesis I will discuss solely Stamp's work in male secure prisons (Stamp, 1998).

Stamp emphasises the need to establish a 'contract' with the client so that the client understands exactly what he is letting himself in for. The 'contract' is a verbal agreement, where both parties agree to work together and that particular things may be expected from the client such as the willingness to talk openly about himself. Stamp discusses how it is important that the prisoner understands the difference between a drama class and a Dramatherapy session, that he will have to talk about his feelings and share his experience, that he will be involved in therapy. Stamp discusses the fear of the prison authorities itself. She has noted how Dramatherapy may be greeted with a dim view by prison staff. There is a concern that if a prisoner has psychiatric problems, Dramatherapy will somehow make these problems more significant and that a risk of suicide will occur. Inmates who do not have a psychiatric illness are often

deemed 'not ill' and therefore not in need of Dramatherapy (Stamp, 1998).

Stamp became increasingly concerned about whether or not prisoners needed therapy. Prisoners were often asking for help and recognising the need for help through therapy and yet the majority of the prison authorities and personnel with which she came in to contact with felt it unnecessary. Stamp also became interested in whether or not there was a link between an inmate's early history and the offences they had committed. In view of this, Stamp took a diploma in Forensic Psychiatry at the Portman Clinic.

> Through this I came across Felicity de Zulueta's research (1993) into the early history of violent offenders. She is a psychiatrist, psychoanalytical psychotherapist and biologist and has found that there is a link between particular child and mother relationships and those who commit violent crime. This suggested that therapy could help these people make connections between their childhood lives and their offences. If this could happen then perhaps they would be less likely to offend (Stamp, 1998:93).

Stamp continues to discuss how the very fact that the prisoner is in prison is helpful in terms of the therapeutic aspect of her work. The inmate has time to think and the relief of a previously unstructured life on the outside being managed and structured for him inside. The absence of alcohol and drugs is also useful though she recognises that this is not true for all prisons as, in some, the latter is readily available. In the last few years, the implementation of random drug testing in prisons demonstrates the Government's own concerns regarding this problematic issue.

However, drug availability aside, incarceration gives the inmate a chance to explore personal issues and anxieties without the pressures of the outside world (Stamp, 1998).

Stamp considers the similarities between drama and Dramatherapy:

> - structures: drama and theatre techniques are familiar to both; and the organisation of sessions in both disciplines can be alike
> - use of personal experience: in each case work can be based on elements of the prisoners lives
> - membership: who attends and the requirements for attending can be similar (Stamp, 1998:95).

In Stamp's Dramatherapy, as in Drama Work, the sessions may include role-play, improvisation, story building, hot-seating, the use of voice and movement. Both genres work on expanding the client's dramatic repertoire and ability for spontaneity. In both, clients will move between real and imaginary worlds, between their own lives and the world of story telling or acting. The Dramatherapy session will be managed in the same way as a drama session, with a warm-up, the main activity and a closing exercise or discussion. Stamp discusses the function of these elements in Dramatherapy:

> The function of the warm up will be to engage the group or the individual: to introduce drama skills relevant to the session and raise particular themes and make some links between these and the individuals' lives. It will also address the dynamics of the individual or group, helping them to feel safe with the work. For example, the session might start with pair work before leading into whole group activities. The main activity will be the focus of the session, chosen either by the facilitator, the group, or the teacher/therapist (Stamp, 1998:95).

The 'contract' between the participant or client and the therapist or Drama Worker may be similar. People may choose to attend a Drama Workshop or to take part in a performance. Stamp states that the 'contract' between prisoner and drama therapist is more explicit, with the prisoner given more information about what is involved and whether or not they wish to attend. This is

true in the sense that as outside practitioners of Drama Work, the inmates involved are selected by the prison authorities, normally the education officer or director of regimes. Often this is very arbitrary with a particular wing or education class group being selected. Occasionally, those prisoners who have earned privileges are selected. This can lead to difficulties, as the inmate may have no interest in drama. With probation clients doing Drama Work as part of a probation order or court order this problem is enhanced. The clients are often resentful and have no wish to be there at all, seeing the Drama Worker as another authority figure (Hewish, 1999). While working with voluntary probation clients, as is the case with the majority of Insight Arts Trust's work, the 'contract' is similar to that of Dramatherapy, with the full implications explained and a choice made by the client. In discussing the Dramatherapy contract, Stamp states that the prisoners need to be aware that the sessions will involve the exploration of personal material.

The central difference between Dramatherapy and Drama Work in a prison setting is the process itself. Initially the work is about establishing a group and a relationship with the therapist or Drama Worker, which is similar, but what occurs next is very different. As the sessions progress, more and more personal experience is shared with the group and worked with. The sessions intensify so that very difficult feelings and thoughts will emerge. The therapist is likely to be presented with challenges or tests (Stamp, 1998).

Stamp sees the ending of the session or sessions as important,

> Often offenders will have avoided endings by getting rid of people first, by minimising that person's importance, by going from one relationship to another, and so on. To have committed themselves to a person or group of people for a period, and to have seen the contract

> through from beginning to end can be valuable in itself (Stamp, 1998:96).

Another central difference between Dramatherapy and Drama Work in a prison context is the relationship between the therapist or Drama Worker and the prisoner. Stamp suggests that the prisoner may see the Dramatherapist as the only person who understands him, asking her to speak for him, to be a kind of advocate. This can also work the other way with the therapist being denigrated and seen as unnecessary. Stamp suggests it is because prisoners find it hard to be ambivalent about people. She says, 'The danger is that they split staff, so you are seen as good and officers as bad, or vice versa. This needs managing carefully to try and bring both views together' (Stamp, 1998:96).

The research for this thesis exposed this splitting as an occurrence for some Drama Workers, too, and I have observed it myself in many prisons. It is a very different situation to working with non-offending populations such as students and is due in part to the fact that the officers are there to lock the prisoner in, literally and, according to many prisoners, metaphorically. The officer is the enforcer of the rules of the Prison Act. He is there to stop the inmate breaking those rules, thus he is seen as the enemy. The Drama Worker breaks the unspoken rules, which also exist, within prison. He or she facilitates an experience of potential enjoyment for the inmate and hopefully does not discriminate against an inmate due to their offence or history. The Drama Worker is seen as subversive, on the prisoner's side rather than on that of the officer. Stamp suggests,

> they (the prisoner) may feel angry and destructive towards the therapist, or see him or her as someone very powerful who can save them (Stamp, 1998:96).

Stamp uses these feelings and her own feelings about the prisoners to understand what is happening and this, she states is why training is essential. The therapist must work out their own feelings during their training so that when they explore similar feelings with a prisoner, they can manage it effectively. A Dramatherapist must be able to manage very strong feelings in the prisoners as well as in his or her self (Stamp, 1998).

Stamp has used autobiography in both her drama teaching and Dramatherapy work. One of the methods she uses is to get the prisoners to map out their lives either on paper or using objects and people as marks, highlighting turning points, points of celebration and other big events. Then relationships are mapped out too in order to form a clearer picture. Important aspects such as drugs, work, alcohol and so on are included. Each is placed in relation to the person carrying out the exercise so that the most important is closest. A visual map of the person's emotional attachments is created. This method is taken from Moreno's social atom. Chris Johnston of Insight Arts Trust uses a similar method, which he calls 'Life Maps' (not be confused with 'New Life Maps', a guide to vocational training for young offenders, devised by Insight Arts Trust and several European bodies which form 'The New Life Maps Partnership').

On very large sheets of paper a person is drawn around to create an outline of their body. Significant physical, mental and spiritual events are mapped out and written or drawn in. The finished product may be an artwork in itself or can be used to provoke dramatic exploration of the events charted on the Life Map (Johnston, 1997).

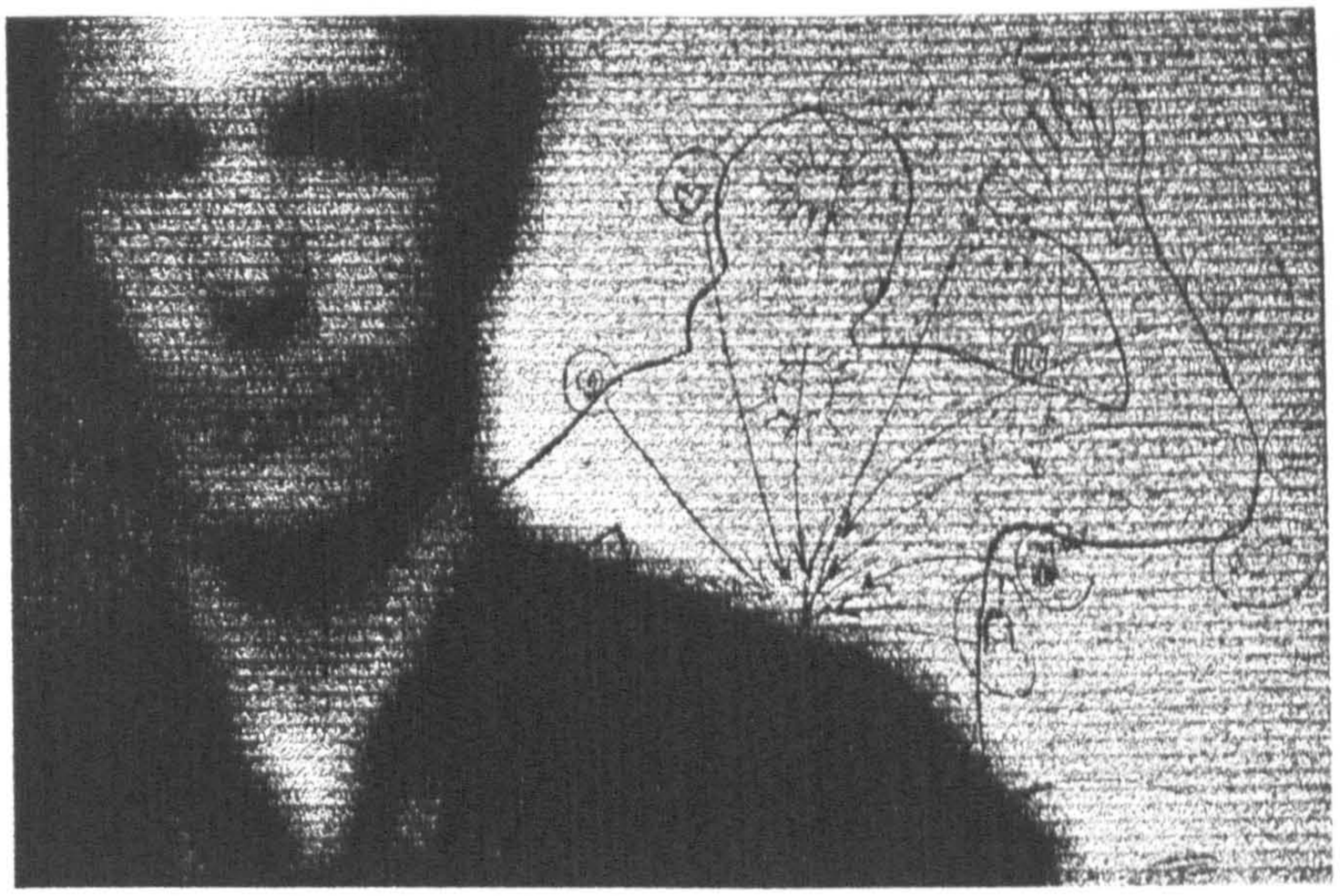

Fig. 6: A 'Life Map' drawn by an ex-offender working with Insight Arts Trust.

Stamp found her use of these maps in prison problematic to some extent with the prisoners excluding certain important people and factors and grouping people together as 'family' or 'friends'. Often the mother figure was idealised as understanding and loving. They viewed their own lives as dull or normal other than a brief event that resulted in their conviction. Stamp observed that the prisoners seemed to feel they would be giving themselves away if they were to put down honest thoughts in the context of prison and in front of other prisoners. Stamp now feels that she was asking too much of the prisoners and that their stories were actually too painful to tell in this way (Stamp, 1998).

It is important to consider Stamp's Dramatherapy work in prison as it is one of very few published accounts of such work and because she has stated the benefits she has observed as well as the problems.

> I feel that Dramatherapy can be very useful as a therapy with offenders because it allows a safe distance for them

> to work on material, and it harnesses the energy of acting while developing the capacity for thinking (Stamp, 1998:108).

Along with many other Dramatherapists and Drama Workers, Sally Stamp draws influence from the work of Jacob Moreno whom this thesis will continue to examine (Stamp, 1998).

MORENO'S PSYCHODRAMA

Jacob Levy Moreno (1892 - 1974) is generally attributed with being the first person in modern times to apply drama to the solution of interpersonal problems and the growth of individual awareness (Davies, 1987). His work has had an important impact on Drama Work (Hewish, 1999) and Dramatherapy (Jennings, 1994).

Kellerman (1996) states that;

> The term Psychodrama is complex and multifaceted and a review of the literature shows little agreement on its definition. The term is loosely used to connote, among other things, clinical role playing, behavioural rehearsal, action analysis, creative dramatics, Dramatherapy, improvisatory theatre and even spontaneous happening (Kellerman, 1996:17).

Moreno's definition is simpler. He talks about a science that explores truths through a dramatic medium (Moreno, 1972). Through his Psychodrama, Moreno aimed to help people gain understanding of intrapsychic and interpersonal dilemmas (Moreno, 1953). One of his key aims was to free spontaneous, creative energy which he felt was obstructed by emotions like anger, grief and fear. He was concerned by what he regarded as the dehumanising impact of modern technology and bureaucracy. He felt these stunted spontaneity and creativity (Davies, 1994).

Spontaneity is an essential prerequisite for creativity and one which Drama Work requires since much of it involves improvisation. Improvisation is the spontaneous creation of drama without use of a script in which participants must respond spontaneously to situations as they unfold. The use of

improvisation in Drama Work is extensive. Indeed, it could be said to be the central component. The ability to approach difficulties creatively and adapt to changing situations with ease can be developed through improvisation.

In Moreno's Psychodrama, the freeing of creative energy is achieved not through improvisation, but through 'mental catharsis' which occurs when avoided feelings and emotions are 'acted out' or expressed, thereby purging the spirit of them (Davies, 1994).

Moreno disagreed with the psychoanalytical view that heroes and geniuses have neuroses which they should rid themselves of through therapy. He felt these very neuroses added to their productivity and creativity (Moreno, 1953). Thus Psychodrama offers a way of dealing with unwanted feelings by expressing them rather than projecting them onto a therapist or indeed a victim. Cox maintains that provided it is well managed, 'expressing inner chaos can lead to relaxed behaviour and enhanced stability' (Cox, 1992:180).

Critics of this rehabilitative approach to offending often feel that assisting offenders to become more spontaneous and creative only improves their law breaking skills. However, Rogers (1961) claims that once an individual has learned to live with inner contradictions, his or her behaviour will become more pro-social and adaptive (Dix, 1996). While I would not assume its rehabilitative values, I contend that drama can help ex-offenders to become more pro-social which obviates the danger of creativity being used to a destructive end.

Fear of unlocking powerful and dangerous emotions through dramatic catharsis is understandable. Meyer (1992) writes that

some psychiatrists and psychologists fear that using the arts therapeutically to assist people regain creativity, which has been lost through trauma, will lead to 'acting out' in a harmful way. Davies (1994) confirms that there is a danger in pushing people too far too fast. It may be possible to guard against this by comprehensive training for group leaders, who take the time to support the participants after catharsis has occurred (Dix, 1996).

This is problematic for a number of reasons in terms of Drama Work. Firstly, many practitioners of Drama Work with offenders or ex-offenders have little or no training, predominantly due to the infancy of this field and partly because much of this work is carried out by theatre companies who employ actor/teachers. While some actor/teachers will have community theatre training and so possess some skills in this area, many are drama school-trained or have studied drama at university. Research for this thesis exposed that out of twenty Drama Workers currently employed by theatre companies working in prisons, four were trained Dramatherapists, five had been trained by the company they were working for over a short period ranging between four weeks and three months. The remaining eleven Drama Workers felt they had been employed primarily as actors and had no specific training whatsoever. Although they took part in the facilitation of workshops they felt they had simply learned from other workers while carrying out the job. Ten of the twenty had drama school training while seven had studied drama at university though only two of these Drama Workers felt their courses had provided any modules which prepared them for work with offending populations. Both had taken a Community Theatre module as part of their course, which provided a handful of lessons on working in prison.

The University of Manchester with its associated TIPP Centre (Theatre in Prisons and Probation), provides the only recognised comprehensive training for Drama Work with offenders, at present in this country (see Chapter One). The need for more courses specialising in Drama Work rather than Dramatherapy is clear, (Hewish 1999, Johnston, 1997).

Secondly, when working with a group of offenders within a prison, other problems arise. The prison regime may at any time remove participants from the group, thus leaving them vulnerable having not completed the work. Also, it is rare with the current state of arts funding in prisons, that long-term projects are available. Therefore a company or practitioner may have a week or two at most to work with a group of very seriously disturbed sex offenders. Unless the prison has the psychiatric and therapeutic back-up available, the feelings roused during the Drama Work may have harmful or dangerous conclusions. I contend that only in a therapeutic prison (of which there are very few) such as HMP Grendon in Buckinghamshire, where there is constant back up to the work facilitated by external practitioners, can deep emotional catharsis have any real benefit. If there is no support system within the prison, an unknowing visitor, inexperienced in such work may do more damage then good. Saul Hewish who frequently works with sex offenders on a level comparable to cathartic work would disagree to some extent. He believes that there is a fear in this country that once an offender has opened himself up, some uncontrollable demon will be released, that if a man opens his emotions to a third party, he will cease to have control. Hewish feels that this is an excuse used to put a halt to this type of emotional work and that the 'opening up' is an important and essential part of Drama Work. I can understand

Hewish's viewpoint and share it in situations where the Drama Worker has Hewish's level of experience and expertise. My concern is with inexperienced individuals working in non-therapeutic settings (Hewish, 1999).

The theories behind Psychodrama attempt to prevent such action. In Psychodrama, an improvisation is created which recounts a situation personal to the protagonist in which he plays himself (Davies, 1994). Auxiliary aides are present as are an audience made up of the other group members. The group leader whose role it is to produce and analyse the Psychodrama will also offer therapeutic guidance (Moreno, 1953).

Various techniques are employed to help the protagonist become aware of the range of possibilities open to him, of which he may not have been previously aware. Thus a violent offender might be encouraged to resolve a situation through negotiation, rather than through violent conflict or physical attack (Dix, 1996).

'Role reversal' is a technique employed to help the protagonist empathise with another participant within his personal story. The protagonist takes on this other role while his role is acted out by an auxiliary ego (Davies, 1947). By acting this other role, the protagonist might see himself more clearly and also see the effect he has on others. For example, within the work of Geese Theatre Company GB, (Hewish, 1999) a violent rapist might be asked to play his own victim, thus compelling him to understand the pain and damage he has caused. Another role he might play is that of his own wife, so that he will become aware of the damage he has caused his own family. Role reversal can have interpersonal and intrapsychic benefits (Dix, 1996).

I have found in my own work that dramatic treatment of incidents can reveal discrepancies between a verbal account and what happened in reality. Some offenders tend to minimise their own offences and this work is useful in exposing the truth of a situation to a protagonist who is denying the gravity of his own actions. This view is supported by other drama practitioners and researchers (Dix, 1996; Hewish 1999).

Theilgaard states that drama precludes the need for verbal analysis and so the possibility of estrangement from the essence of phenomena is reduced,

> ...whether he is an actor representing a character in a play, or a patient narrating his story, (he) invites the audience or the therapist to experience 'the other' in as lucid, vivid and immediate a way as possible... to understand a phenomenon is to get as close to what is being explored on its own terms, so that it is discovered through participation in the experience (Thielgaard, 1992:67).

Thielgaard also explains that the phenomenological nature of drama often makes it easier for the 'less articulate and sophisticated' to express themselves through action rather than words (Davies, 1994). Many offenders fall into this category having left the education system early, thus drama offers a useful tool when employed with offenders (Dix, 1996).

BOAL'S THEATRE OF THE OPPRESSED

Brazillian theatre director Augusto Boal developed The Theatre of the Oppressed during the 1950s and 1960s. Working to empower victims of political and social circumstance, Boal attempted to transform theatre from the traditional 'monologue' to a 'dialogue' between what occurred on stage and the experience for the audience. Experimenting with many different forms of interactive theatre, Boal created games and exercises for use with the ordinary people rather than preserving them for actors.

In the 1970s, Boal developed a form of theatre that has had a considerable influence on Drama Work with offenders (Thompson, 1998). The unique form he created became known as Forum Theatre (Boal, 1995). Boal advocated the principle of 'collective learning' in which actor and spectator are interchangeable. Boal wrote of this,

> In order to understand this *poetics of the oppressed* one must keep in mind its main objective: to change the people - "spectators", passive beings in the theatrical phenomenon - into subjects, into actors, transformers of the dramatic action (Boal, 1979:122).

Boal expands upon this,

> Aristotle proposes a poetics in which the spectator delegates power to the dramatic character so that the latter may act and think for him. Brecht proposes a poetics in which the spectator delegates power to the character who thus acts in his place but the spectator reserves the right to think for himself, often in opposition to the character. In the first case a "catharsis" occurs; in the second, an awakening of critical consciousness. But the *poetics of the oppressed* focuses on the action itself: the spectator delegates no power to the character (or actor) either to act or to think in his place; on the contrary,

> he himself assumes the protagonic role, changes the dramatic action, tries out solutions, discusses plans for change - in short trains himself for real action (Boal, 1979:122).

Boal aimed to create a democratic theatre in keeping with his overall goal of assisting people in the defeat of social and personal oppressions (Boal, 1992). Boal acknowledges that in this case the theatre itself is not revolutionary but it is a kind of rehearsal for revolution (Boal, 1979).

Boal proposed a plan for transforming a spectator into an actor, which he systematised into four general stages. He described the first stage as 'Knowing the body', a series of exercises designed to help the spectator get to know his or her own body, 'its limitations and its possibilities, its social distortions and possibilities of rehabilitation' (Boal, 1979:126).

In the second stage, 'Making the body expressive', a series of games are employed to help the individual to express him or herself through the body while abandoning habitual means of expression. 'The theatre as language' is the title given to the third stage where, 'one begins to practice theatre as a language that is living and present, not as a finished product displaying images of the past' (Boal, 1979:126). The third stage has three separate 'degrees'. In the first degree, 'simultaneous dramaturgy', the spectators write simultaneously as the actors act. In the second degree or 'image theatre' the spectators interrupt the actors, 'speaking through images made with the actors bodies' and in the third degree or 'forum theatre' the spectators intervene directly, stopping the actors while they are acting (Boal, 1979:126). In the fourth stage or 'theatre as discourse' the spectator-actor creates 'spectacles' according to his desire to discuss and explore certain themes or to rehearse specific actions (Boal, 1979:126).

In Forum Theatre, a dilemma born out of oppression is shown in its unresolved form as a play or scene. The piece is then re-enacted, during which a 'spectator-actor', in the audience, may at any time shout, 'Stop!' thus halting the action and take the place of the protagonist. His role then is to defeat the oppression by changing the outcome of the play (Boal, 1979; Boal,1992).

Boal intended Forum Theatre to help as many people within a group as possible. Forum Theatre takes an individual's story and turns it into a drama with comparable but not identical dilemmas in order that as many participants as possible can learn from it. Forum theatre is used in some form or other by many practitioners of Drama Work (Johnston 1998, Gladstone, 1999). The advantage of using this method with offenders is that they are likely to feel more confident discussing offending-related issues if they do not feel directly implicated. However, it is possible to devise theatre structures specifically intended for one member of the group based on that individual's offending behaviour.

Within Insight Arts Trust's Anger Management programme, co-run by Chris Johnston and Richmond Trew, Forum Theatre is employed to considerable effect. In 1996, Johnston and Trew's facilitated a group using this form. The group met once a week at a probation centre in Ilford and attendance was compulsory, part of a statutory court order. One client, who shall be referred to as 'Tom' for the purpose of this example, had shown violence towards his partner. 'Tom's' partner had reported the violence to his probation officer who attempted to tackle the problem. 'Tom' would not admit to any form of violence against the woman and so it was put to Johnston and Trew that they should

attempt to unearth the truth of the situation within the anger management programme.

A scenario very similar to 'Tom's' own situation was set up. Trew took the role of 'Tom', using some of his traits and key 'lines' or phrases. A female Drama Worker played the partner and Johnston directed the action of the scene. The scene was played out to the group, which included 'Tom'. The climax of the scene involved violent action towards the partner. Johnston then asked the group if there was any other way that the man ('Tom') could have dealt with the pressure of the situation, without resorting to violence. 'Tom' remained silent for some time and it appeared that he had recognised himself within Trew's characterisation.

A number of men attempted to re-enact the scene. Eventually, Johnston asked 'Tom' what he would do. Would he react in any other way? 'Tom' took Trew's role and the female Drama Worker, as the partner, pushed him harder than she had Trew, towards violent action. They wanted to test 'Tom' within the situation and see if he could manage it in any other way. The facilitators then discussed with the group how he reacted, what he could have done, could he have communicated his feelings more effectively, if there was an alternative to violence.

This is a method employed by Insight and many other Drama Workers (Thompson 1998). It is deeply rooted in Boal's 'Theatre of the Oppressed' and provides an ideal format to combat offending behaviour and aid the learning of anger management skills. The offender can be guided towards a new way of dealing with situations that may usually erupt in violence. He can rehearse ways of communicating more effectively.

Boal saw Forum Theatre as a means to 'rehearse for reality'. He believed that if people were able to perform an action within the context of drama, they could potentially repeat it in real life. Thus they could experiment with ways of tackling their oppressors. An offender could therefore experiment with more pro-social forms of behaviour. Through drama offenders may be able to learn the consequences of their actions and more effective alternatives. For example, in relation to the Forum used by Insight and cited above, if 'Tom' had chosen to attack his partner and could not see the damage he had done, they could have shown him the consequences. They may have enacted a scene where 'Tom's' partner told a friend about how she felt, or where she went to the police or hospital.

Through this type of continuation of the scene, 'Tom' would have been forced to watch and hopefully recognise the consequences of his violence and the serious nature of impact upon his victim and himself. This aspect of Drama Work relies heavily upon two integral factors.

1) The actor's ability to improvise,
2) The 'director' or 'Drama Worker's' ability to recognise reactions and manipulate and guide the situation in relation to the group.

In the 1980s, Boal began to experiment with oppressions of a more intrapsychic nature, such as depression or loneliness. He developed the notion of the 'cop in the head' to explain internal oppressors or self-defeating emotions. Boal contends that acting tools can assist with the learning of how to change self-defeating behaviour (Boal, 1995).

Boal describes the 'division of self' as the self-observation that actors require to ensure they are portraying a character accurately.

> The specific therapeutic function of the theatre resides in this: ... in seeing oneself and listening to oneself, the protagonist acquires knowledge about himself (Boal, 1995:28).

Boal expands that theatre is essentially about a conflict of wills and the resolution of these. He states that when acting a character it is crucial to establish the character's motivation. Boal employed techniques such as the 'STOP THINK!' exercise to raise awareness of what is going on within the character's mind. He wanted to create an 'undercurrent' of communication. In this exercise, the director stops the action of a scene and asks the actors to voice the 'interior monologue' of their character. This enables actors to ensure congruency between their feelings, thoughts and body language as well as to recognise self-defeating thoughts (Boal, 1992). The 'STOP THINK' principle might be used with offenders when asking them to act out an offence. By stopping the action and asking the offender what he is thinking or why he is doing something or even just to hear the interior monologue might reveal previously unknown detail surrounding the offence and the offender. In this respect I contend that Drama Work might be useful in assisting offenders who have intrapsychic or interpersonal difficulties that might contribute to their offending.

THE COGNITIVE-BEHAVIOURIST APPROACH

While the Cognitive-Behaviourist approach is only one of many key approaches employed by criminologists, it is an approach that has had considerable influence on Drama Work. Many Drama Workers draw on aspects of cognitive behaviour theory and methodology within their own work (Hewish, 1999; Gladstone, 1999). The STAC programme devised and used in Belfast, delivers cognitive/behavioural learning programmes for probation clients and has been an inspiration to Clean Break (Dix, 1996). In a social studies MA entitled 'The use of Drama Work with Offenders in the Community', (1996) Angela Dix examines Cognitive-Behaviourist approaches in respect to Drama Work with probation clients. She discusses that while this method differs in many respects from Psychodrama, it is potentially one of Drama Work's benefits that it is able to incorporate such disparate and in some aspects, conflicting theories and methodologies (Dix, 1996).

Dix continues to explain how Cognitive-Behaviour theory derives from experimental psychology, which includes theories of social learning and conditioning. These theories maintain that behaviour is learned through socialisation; that is from others, such as family and peers. The work of experimental psychologists, such as Bandura (1977), also influenced theories of the effect of perceived self-efficacy (Dix, 1996).

Cognitive-Behaviourists argue that offenders have been under-socialised. They lack the values, attitudes, reasoning and social skills necessary for pro-social adjustment. Consequently, they lack the ability to communicate effectively with others and deal with personal conflict in an adaptive manner (Hollin, 1990).

Theorists of Cognitive-Behaviour argue that anti-social behaviour may be un-learned and in turn replaced by behaviour considered more acceptable, (Ross and Fabiano, 1992). Hewish (Hewish, 1992), cites Yochelson and Samenov who explored correctional work (including cognitive-behaviour approaches) that insight follows re-education. Thus Cognitive-Behaviourists adopt a didactic, corrective approach, in contrast to therapeutic models, including Psychodrama (Dix, 1996).

Clean Break draw on cognitive/behaviourist approaches in their Acting for Life workshops and suggest that drama can facilitate several of the key objectives:

1 to enable participants to develop a conception of themselves and their role in society which is pro-social
2 to enable participants to practice a wider range of cognitive and interpersonal skills. (Clean Break, 1998:1).

Matza attacks the correctional approach to offending, arguing that it is not possible to humanistically understand an offender through empathy at the same time as being correctional since correctionists want to eradicate deviant behaviour. While this is an intrinsic tension for those directly funded by and working for the probation service, Dix disputes the argument that it cannot, and by implication, should not be attempted. Firstly, correctionists want to exterminate deviant behaviour rather than its perpetrator and secondly, Matza's view that offenders should be 'appreciated' as an inevitable part of life, ignores the issue of victims (Dix,1996).

Geese Theatre Company GB, which runs programmes as part of statutory probation orders, like the Cognitive-Behaviourists, adopt a correctional approach, designed to directly confront offending and instil the offender with a sense of personal responsibility for their actions (Hewish, 1999). This corresponds

with the justice model, espoused by the 1991 Criminal Justice Act, which views the offender as a rational individual. It is a view that may be criticised for ignoring the fact that the offender's rationality may be seriously impaired by the effects of substance misuse, poverty, unemployment, mental illness or homelessness (Pitts, 1991). Indeed, Ashworth (1994) criticises Geese for ignoring the political context of offending in terms of oppressive societal structures and so seeming to pathologise the offender (Dix, 1996). Radical stucturalists may argue that Drama Workers are as guilty as social workers of victim blaming as conceptualised by Ryan (1971) rather than tackling societal inequities and promoting a revolution against capitalism (Barber, 1991; Dix, 1996).

> While acknowledging the importance of structural factors in relation to offending, Geese and other Cognitive-Behaviourists argue that not all people belonging to disadvantaged groups resort to offending (Priestly & Maguire, 1985). Similarly to the way in which Boal's work can strengthen people to take control of their lives and fight oppression, I would argue that the problem-solving and social skills of the cognitive-behavioural approach can empower people on an individual basis, as well as assist them to lead law abiding lives (Dix, 1996:22).

In her research into how Drama Work may benefit offenders in the community, Dix goes on to discuss how Psychodrama and Cognitive-Behaviourist approaches accord in that both empathise issues dominating the present rather than those of early development, on the basis that knowledge of causation does not necessarily help alter behaviour in the present.

She continues that the teaching of pro-social values is meant to ensure that the cognitive skills taught to improve problem-solving abilities and communication do not simply produce more skilled offenders (Ross and Fabiano, 1992). Techniques such as role reversal are employed to instil pro-social values and

assist people to gain a set of skills that will help them deal with difficulties more effectively (Priestly and McGuire, 1985). Role reversal is employed to help offenders comprehend the impact of their behaviour on others: that is, their victims. In my work with probation clients I frequently employ this method in order to instil an understanding of and empathy towards the victim. By examining the effect of a crime for the victim it enables the astute offender to realise the serious nature of his actions, which he may easily overlook, or neglect to recognise altogether (Dix, 1996).

Dix continues to discuss how Neary (1992) attacks Cognitive-Behaviourist approaches and programmes such as the Reasoning and Rehabilitation programme for being too mechanistic and subordinating passion to reason. While this may be a tendency in some programmes, Dix's view is that the emphasis on feeling in Drama Work avoids this.

Geese draws on Ellis's (Dryden, 1990) Rational Emotive Behavioural Therapy (REBT), a form of cognitive-behaviour theory (Hewish, 1999). Dix explains that REBT is centred around the interaction between thought, action and feeling. According to REBT theory people are happiest when they are striving to achieve goals. REBT offers a goal-orientated method of working (Dryden, 1990) contrasting with the open ended nature of traditional analytic therapies (Jacobs, 1988). Drama Work is by nature goal-orientated, with the client striving to achieve a good performance and recognition from an audience or director, which accords with this method of work (Dix, 1996).

Dix continues to discuss how Ellis proposed that it is our irrational thoughts and inappropriate feelings about experiences rather than the experiences themselves which cause psychological disturbance. REBT aims to correct those

thoughts and feelings which lead to self-defeating behaviour, in turn hindering achievement of goals. REBT also aims to ensure the offender does not re-indoctrinate themselves in the present with rigid beliefs about themselves in the past (Dryden 1990; Dix, 1996).

Dix explains how REBT clients are encouraged to accept themselves unconditionally as fallible, often acting self-defeating, but neither essentially good nor bad (Dryden, 1990). The main effect of this is one essential to Drama Work with offenders: to raise self-esteem.

SELF-ESTEEM THEORIES OF OFFENDING

Some criminological theories of offending are linked to self-image and the notion of low self-esteem. Through Drama Work, many practitioners emphasise rehabilitative objectives such as developing a positive self-image. In interview for this thesis, Chris Johnston of Insight Arts Trust described the central purpose of his work with offenders: 'To extend awareness, to promote reassessment, to inspire and to build self-esteem' (Johnston, 1999).

Pauline Gladstone, education and training manager at Clean Break Theatre Company describes one of the aims of her work, 'to raise self-esteem, to explore the idea of change' (Gladstone, 1999).

Many practitioners and theorists believe it is a low self-esteem that leads to offending in the first place. In her research, Dix (1996) examines how Cohen, in 1955, first discussed the theory of a 'delinquent sub-culture', contending that some working class youngsters who experienced failure at school reacted by rejecting the values of the dominant middle class culture whose standards they felt unable to meet. They formed delinquent sub-cultures, which gave an alternative source of status and enabled them to fight back at a system that considered them to be a failure. Since Cohen's research, theorists have differed on the causes of sub-culture formation, but some linked it to attempts to bolster self-image (Heidensohn, 1989; Dix, 1996).

Toch (1992) discovered that many offenders convicted of violent crimes were using violence to compensate for low self-esteem. Of these, the majority fell into the category he called 'self-image promoters'. These were offenders who had created a tough

image of themselves. They did this to combat the fear that otherwise they would be seen as weak which Toch suggested, they actually were. These offenders equated manhood with a desire and willingness to fight. Others categorised as 'self-image defenders' used violence as a reaction to perceived slights against them. Their fear of being belittled resided in a suspicion that they were indeed of low worth. Toch's findings suggest that work which aims to raise self-esteem may be useful for violent offenders (Dix, 1996).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the Dramatherapy first promoted by Jennings, Moreno's Psychodrama and Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed. All of these methods and theories have contributed to the development and progression of Drama Work. Both use drama, albeit differently, to help participants to overcome intrapsychic and interpersonal difficulties. The work of Boal also aims to psychologically empower the participant and raise consciousness to help tackle societal oppression. I have attempted to demonstrate how the work of these three practitioners has been and can be applied to Drama Work with offenders. I have drawn upon examples to illustrate this. I have also looked further back at the cathartic theatre of Antonin Artaud and the revolutionary work of Constantin Stanislavski and Jerzy Grotowski. I have examined how these practitioners found links between theatre and therapy, drama and behaviour.

I have also considered the cognitive-behavioural approaches, which have influenced Drama Work. In addition, I have explored the link between self-esteem and offending since raising self-esteem is often an objective of Drama Work (Dix, 1996).

From the literature review, I suggest there are clear indications of the benefits of Drama Work with offenders in prison and on probation. In the account of my own work with ex-offenders on probation which follows in Chapter Four, I intend to explore further its nature and potential value.

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[1] Not to be confused with James Thompson of the TIPP Centre at the University of Manchester.

[2] The author played the role of Doctor Branom in the original production of 'A Clockwork Orange' at Newcastle Playhouse for Northern Stage Company.

[3] NADT information pack, 1998, pages unnumbered.

[4] NADT information pack, 1998, pages unnumbered.

[5] NADT Information Pack, 1998, pages unnumbered.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Chapter Three examines the methodology used to conduct the research including primary and secondary methods, implementation and context. The primary method of participant observation is analysed and specific examples of the researcher's experience are charted. There is discussion relating to the process by which the findings were analysed and consideration is given to contextual issues and the effect of bias on the data collated. Consideration is also given to the advantages and disadvantages of the methods used.

> At the heart of arts evaluation practice in prisons and probation is a concern to understand in what way a project has affected the participants. Evaluation and research is an attempt at picking up clues from a number of areas, of which none on their own provide conclusive evidence. In this respect evaluation has less to do with a scientific process than with one akin to a court of law which gathers information from a number of sources to ascertain a truth (Balfour and Poole, 1998:223).

Establishing a methodology appropriate for the evaluation of Drama Work in prison and with probation clients within the community is not an easy task. Writing specifically about Drama Work in prison, Michael Balfour and Lindsey Poole highlight the problematic nature of evaluating Drama Work:

> Whilst most drama work lends itself to process evaluations (for example through observation), problems may arise when trying to demonstrate the outcomes of the work, particularly in terms of attitudinal change. (Balfour and Poole, 1998:221).

One of the difficulties is that the results of such work are largely visual and recording these results is problematic. It is extremely rare for a practitioner to be allowed to take a video camera into a

prison setting. While it may be possible in a probation context, it is generally inappropriate. Offenders are unlikely to feel comfortable and relaxed in a drama session where their every move is being caught on camera. One of the reasons why drama has the ability to be effective in a prison setting is due to the privacy it allows the offender. In my experience and the experience of other Drama Workers interviewed for this thesis Prison Officer's rarely stay around to watch the action and would rather wait outside the door until the session is over (Drama Workers 1 and 2, 1995). This allows for a very different atmosphere within the room, to which the prisoners are un-used to, rarely being left alone, and never in groups.

Balfour and Poole (1998) have recently published guidelines for evaluating drama projects in prison, in an attempt to encourage evaluation by practitioners and so raise the profile of the work. I have already discussed in Chapter Two how little literature there is regarding this area and one of the reasons for this is the lack of evaluation by practitioners and companies. Balfour and Poole discuss the use of both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies in relation to Drama Work, though they acknowledge most practitioners have a preference for qualitative techniques.

> Both probation officers and Drama Workers appear to be far easier with the notion of purely qualitative methods of research such as observation despite the immense time that is needed in order to undertake a systematic analysis of such data. (Balfour and Poole, 1998:222).

It is an intensely time-consuming process to analyse qualitative data, yet in terms of the research of Drama Work with offenders, for this thesis it was deemed the most appropriate primary method. A qualitative approach also suited the infancy of the research topic. Qualitative research can be used when an area is not well known, necessitating exploration of its nature

and arising issues. It is used to identify, describe and understand phenomena rather than measure or quantify it. It provides a flexible approach that allows the researcher to explore the nature of the phenomena under research (Walker, 1985).

David Silverman suggests that when a researcher is concerned with exploring people's behaviour then a qualitative methodology is appropriate. In examining how Drama Work may affect the likelihood of re-offending for an individual then it is behaviour that is in question (Silverman, 1997).

PRIMARY METHODS

Participant Observation

Due to the nature of the author's work and the fact that I am involved in the core of the movement I am researching, I found that participant observation was an essential methodology. This methodology has been chosen because it would be virtually impossible to research drama-based activity without taking part or observing due to the very nature of drama itself. Participant observation is appropriate for studies of almost every aspect of human existence and has been employed to considerable affect by many social researchers (cf. Vass, 1984).

Through this method it is possible to describe what occurs, who or what exactly is involved, when and where things happen (Jorgensen, 1989).

Jorgensen states:

> The methodology of participant observation is exceptional for studying processes, relationships among people and events, the organisation of people and events, continuities over time, and patterns, as well as the immediate sociocultural contexts in which human existence unfolds (Jorgensen, 1989:12).

Jorgensen continues to identify that participant observation is an effective tool when there are important differences between the views of insiders as opposed to outsiders and the phenomenon is obscured from the view of the outsiders. This is most relevant to working with offenders in a prison context. The phenomenon that I have chosen to examine is concealed from public view, not only by prison walls and padlocked gates but also by the separateness of experience and the sub-culture that develops when a group of offenders are held in a contained environment.

This sub-culture has its own codes and laws, language and jargon as well as having the laws of the Prison Act imposed upon it.

Through participant observation I have attempted to focus on human interaction between offenders themselves, interaction between offenders and education staff and also the interaction between offenders and prison officers or probation officers, dependent on the context. An attempt has been made to decipher codes and understand their context. I have aimed to generate practical and theoretical truths formulated as interpretative theories. Jorgensen states that 'participation is a strategy for gaining access to otherwise inaccessible dimensions of human life and experience' (Jorgensen, 1989:23).

Vass (1984:3) qualifies participant observation by dividing it in to four central categories. These categories have been adapted to apply to Drama Work with offenders.

<u>OBSERVATIONS:</u>

Where participation was absent or minimal. Observing workshops or performances.

<u>PASSIVE PARTICPANT OBSERVATION:</u>

Where I took part in workshops and performances and was seen as a member of the group while attempting to retain a degree of neutrality in my role as a Drama Worker, having to interact with other staff or contribute to decisions regarding the project as a member of staff.

<u>ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION:</u>

Where I shared experiences and relationships by observing and participating in projects with probation clients or prison inmates.

ASKING QUESTIONS, ANALYSING PROJECTS:

Adopting the role of a researcher for the purpose of interviews and analysing documentation and records of projects.

The facilitation of workshops was at the core of the participant observation. While it would prove laborious to detail the content and events of each of the workshops I conducted or took part in over the six year period of research, (over 300), I will describe a typical work shop, in order that the reader may gain greater understanding of the process.

The Workshops

Regular Drama Workshops are facilitated by Insight Arts Trust, and are available for probation clients and ex-offenders to attend on a non-compulsory basis. Clients are generally referred to the company by their probation officers. Other clients respond to posters advertising the workshops, which are placed in bail hostels and probation centres. There are two workshops per week for a period of six weeks. Abilities and experience of drama often vary considerably between groups. In September 1996 I facilitated the workshop described below. The workshop took place at Camden House, a probation hostel in Camden, North London. There were nine men and two women present. All of the participants had attended similar workshops with Insight Arts Trust for between three months and two years. Ages within the group ranged between 20 years and 60 years.

INTRODUCTION:

For the sake of participants I had not seen for some time, who I assumed would have forgotten my name, I introduced myself and talked briefly about the form my workshops would take. We then formed a circle and everyone introduced themselves by name.

WARM UP

We began the warm up with a simple name game. Throwing a ball across the circle, each time a member of the group caught the ball they said their name. I then adapted the game slightly so that before the ball was thrown, the participant would call the name of the person they were throwing to. I then changed the rules again so that when a participant caught the ball, he or she had to call the name of the person who had thrown it. Through this game, names were quickly learned.

I then facilitated an instruction game called 'Floor, Wall, Freeze, Friend, Centre' (see Chapter Six for game details) involving some running in order to warm the group up physically. The game involved the group listening out for my instructions and following them as quickly as possible. An instruction may be 'Walls', where the participant must move as quickly as possible to one of the four walls and stand against it. Another instruction may be 'floor' where the participant lies down flat on the floor. Other instructions are called out in quick succession and after a few minutes the group are feeling warmer and have spent time listening to the group leader's instructions.

Once the group were feeling warm I initiated a game called 'Newspaper' (see Chapter Six for game details) that involved working together as a group in order to solve a problem. The group took some time to solve the dilemma but worked together effectively and found the game to be a good bonding exercise.

A major part of Insight Arts Trust's work involves creating and using images so I facilitated a series of games where images were made quickly and spontaneously. This involved the group sitting in a circle while one member got up and made an image, abstract or real, and another group member joined them to enhance the image. The exercise moved very quickly and some interesting and humorous images were created. One member of the group felt a little shy about getting up in front of everyone else but after the other participants had created several images he got up and made his own.

Fig.7: 'Making Images', Insight Arts Trust Workshop at Camden House

The game was then taken on to another level. I asked one of the participants to make an image. As a group we then discussed what we thought the image meant, who the character was, what he was doing, why he was doing it. It is quite common for crime-related issues to be raised fairly quickly during this exercise as the participants read the images using

their personal experience. The conversation that followed is notated below.

Participant 1:	He's hiding something in his jacket.
Participant 2:	It's a gun or something he's stolen.
Di Girolamo:	Which is it?
Participant 2:	A gun.
Participant 1:	Yeah, a gun.
Di Girolamo:	Why is he hiding it?
Participant 3:	He's about to pull it out on someone.
Participant 2:	It's loaded.
Di Girolamo:	Where is he?
Participant 4:	In a shop.
Participant 5:	He's holding up a shop.
Di Girolamo:	Why is he doing it?
Participant 2:	To get drug money.
Participant 6:	He's a smack addict.

(The group laugh)

Participant 7:	He needs the money for his fix. He hasn't had a fix for two days and he's going cold turkey.
Participant 8:	His girlfriend's at home waiting for him.
Participant 6:	She's a junkie too, and she's waiting on a fix.
Di Girolamo:	Let's put a shop assistant in, any volunteers?

(One of the men gets up and assumes a still freeze as a shop assistant)

Di Girolamo:	Is there anyone else in the shop?
Participant 8:	A woman with a baby.
Di Girolamo:	Volunteer?

(One of the women gets up and takes on the role of a shopper clutching her baby to her in fear as the armed robber gets ready to pull his gun out.)

Participant 5: Maybe she gets hurt, shot or something.

Participant 8: Yeah, she tries to stop him.

Di Girolamo: All right, we've now got quite a scene. Let's give them names and personal histories.[1]

The characters are then given names and personal histories so that it is easier for the participants to identify with them. The gunman, a 17year old heroin addict called Mark, enters the shop, desperate for money to buy drugs for himself and his girlfriend Sue. The shopper, Mary has come to the shop to buy milk and biscuits. Her baby Danny is just a year old and her twelve year old daughter is waiting at home for her. The shopkeeper, Donald is tired of trying to keep the shop running in the middle of a rough estate. He has been robbed on several occasions. He is married and has grown-up children. The details are created by the group in response to one another. I then ask the actors to play out the scene in real time by improvising the situation. The scene is performed well. Donald tries to fight off Mark and Mary tries to grab the gun. In the struggle Mary is shot and seriously injured.

I then asked the group to discuss the consequences of the scene. What will happen to Mary? Does she die? What does Mark do when she is lying wounded on the floor? Did he expect to shoot someone? Does he get the money and go home? Do the police catch him? We discuss the possible outcomes for a few minutes and then I split the group in to three

smaller groups. They are given 20 minutes to prepare a short scene based on what happens next.

One group work on what happens next for Mary and her children. Another work on what happens when Mark gets home. The third group work on the outcome for the shopkeeper. When the scenes are ready we play them out in order as a short play. Afterwards we discuss the implications for each character looking in detail at the themes that are raised. Some of the participants begin to talk about their own offending history in relation to the events in the scenes. A discussion on victim impact follows and we discuss the different levels of 'hurt' for Donald and Mary.

The majority of the group think that Mary is a victim because she was shot and wounded badly. They do not feel that Donald is really a victim. In the scenes, Mark has panicked after shooting Mary and run home leaving Donald to call an ambulance and look after Mary. Because he was un-injured and Mark did not get any money, the majority of the group stand by their claim that he was not hurt.

Di Girolamo:	So does 'hurt' only refer to a physical state?
Participant 3:	Yes. He didn't get shot.
Di Girolamo:	But does that mean he wasn't hurt?
Participant 3:	Yeah.
Participant 5:	But he was really shaken up.
Participant 6:	Yeah, he was distressed by it all.
Di Girolamo:	So maybe in a way he was hurt. It must be very frightening to have a gun pointed at you. Don't you think?
Participant 3:	I suppose so.
Participant 5:	He might have nightmares after and that.

Participant 7: Like post-traumatic stress disorder or something.

Di Girolamo: So Mark's actions may not hurt him physically but they do hurt him emotionally?

Participant 5: Yes.

Participant 6: Yeah, I agree.

Di Girolamo: Who else agrees?

(All but one participant agrees)

Di Girolamo: You don't agree?

Participant 2: No. It's happened to him loads of times. That's what happens when you've got a shop in a rough area.

Di Girolamo: If something horrid happens to you more than once, does that stop it being horrid?

Participant 2: I suppose not.

Di Girolamo: Do you think when he opened his shop all those years ago he expected to be robbed at gunpoint.

Participant 2: But he (Mark) never got no money.

Di Girolamo: No, but he scared Donald didn't he?

Participant 2: That's part of the job. That's what you do when you're on an armed blagg – you scare people.

Di Girolamo: Do you see that being scared is like being hurt? That Donald is still a victim?

Participant 2: I don't know. Yeah, I guess so. [2]

Discussion is a very important part of the workshop. It enables the group to analyse a character's actions and feelings and relate them to their personal experience. As Participant 2 is still a little uncertain about Donald's suffering I ask him to take the role of the armed robber and we play out the scene again. He relishes the opportunity and plays the character with

remarkable authenticity. The group applaud him when the scene is finished.

I then ask him to sit facing Donald. I ask the actor playing Donald to improvise, telling him how he felt during the incident, how it felt to be victimised. He does so and it is easy to see his pain and anguish. I ask Participant 2 if he now understands the level of hurt felt by Donald and he agrees that Donald was indeed a victim. I ask them to play the scenes again with Participant 2 playing the shopkeeper while the original actor plays Mark, the armed robber. I tell him to be as frightening as possible and try to scare Participant 2. He does so and I then question Participant 2 about his feelings during the scene.

Participant 2: It was pretty scary. I'm glad he didn't have a real gun because he was a right psycho! All right, I get the point now, I agree with you lot![3]

At this point we take a coffee break to allow informal discussion, an important part of Insight Arts Trust regular Drama Workshops. The group talk about the exercise we have just done and the coffee break becomes an extension of the discussion. One participant suggests we look at the long-term impact for the shopkeeper, how quickly it takes him to recover. We talk about the impact of the offence on Mark and on Mary. I tell the group that we will do similar exercises in other sessions. After the break we spend the last half-hour playing some light-hearted drama games and we end with ten minutes relaxation, which the group say they enjoy.

When the workshop is over and the group have left Camden House, I make notes. In this case I am fortunate because the workshop discussions have been recorded, with the permission of the participants, on a tape recorder. This is a technique

rarely employed as it often leaves participants feeling very uncomfortable. I did ask for permission on this occasion as I knew all of the participants from previous workshops and projects and I knew they were keen to aid my research.

The workshop I have described is a typical non-specific work shop facilitated by myself. That is to say that a theme, victim impact, came out of a general session. I did not prearrange the theme or have a specific intention of what would be dealt within the workshop. The range of offences committed by the participants were varied and the purpose of the workshop was to improve dramatic skills and address offending behaviour. I was not attempting to address any specific area. Over the following three sessions we looked at victim impact in a range of situations. The participants, who wanted to continue the story they had developed in the outlined session, instigated this.

Gathering data from the workshops is not a simple task. I have used my detailed diary notes as illustrated later within this chapter and audio recordings on the rare occasions they were available to me. The workshops are, however, at the heart of the research process. I was able to evaluate the progress of certain ex-offenders over an extensive period of time, up to five years. I noted how many participants pursued drama and continued to attend programmes and how many dropped out or lost interest. I was also able to monitor how many ex-offenders attending Insight Arts Trust programmes re-offended and were convicted. Working with the participants over a period of time gave me a greater understanding of them as real people, rather than as cases with an offending history and little else. I was able to test my theory that Drama Work can be of value to ex-offenders, and see the results at work. I was also able to form

informal relationships with the participants by chatting to them in the breaks and after sessions.

SECONDARY METHODS

Semi-structured and Focus Interviews

Participant observation is a primary form and method of collecting data and one essential for this investigation, I chose, however, to use several secondary methods such as the collation of documents and statistics. I also chose to conduct a series of semi-structured interviews on one-to-one bases with key practitioners in the field who are named within this thesis as well as with offenders both within my own groups and groups facilitated by other practitioners (Offender 1-40). I felt that individuals attending groups run by other Drama Workers were likely to be more honest regarding their feelings towards the work and the group. Some of my own clients may have felt inhibited about criticising work they felt was entirely my responsibility.

My research is based upon 40 semi-structured interviews numbered Offender 1-40 and fifteen questionnaire interviews with ex-offenders who had attended Drama Work programmes either in prison or on probation (Offender A-O). The research is also based upon six focus interviews with named practitioners, six years of participant observation with Insight Arts Trust and short-term participant observation on several other projects including the Glyndebourne Opera Education/HMP Lewes Summer Project 1994. I also interviewed a number of Drama Workers (Drama Worker 1-10) prison officers (Prison Officer 1-5) and prison inmates (Inmate 1-20) who wished to remain anonymous though their details are held on file.

I developed a topic guide for the semi-structured interviews with forty ex-offenders who had attended a variety of different programmes (Appendix Two). I devised a topic guide (Appendix Four) with which to interview the chosen practitioners of Drama Work with offenders. I constructed a list of areas I wanted the practitioners to cover. This enabled me some of the freedom of a focus interview to enable exploration while retaining structure for ease of data analysis (May, 1993). I interviewed two practitioners who were formerly offenders and had served prison sentences and four practitioners with a theatre/education background.

I developed a questionnaire (Appendix Three) that I used for the three sets of five ex-offenders who had attended programmes with Insight, Clean Break and Geese. Questionnaires and interviews enable a researcher to collect a standardised set of data, much of it in quantitative form, from relatively small samples of subjects. Survey research is useful for testing theories and providing explanations (Jorgensen, 1989). I used questionnaires when I was unable to meet with a practitioner I wanted to interview due to location distances as well as to collate responses from groups of prisoners and probation clients who preferred not to be interviewed. I also used written responses, by offenders and prison staff to performances and workshops conducted in prisons where interviews were not a possibility. I found that almost all inmates involved in the work were keen to respond in writing and I found these responses very useful. I ensured to make it clear when dealing with prisoners that written responses were optional, confidential and up to the individual. There is a high proportion of illiteracy in prison and I did not want to make anyone feel uncomfortable.

I found that the questionnaire answers, though useful, were very brief and, in most cases, the minimum of information was given,

for example, yes or no answers. I knew that I would be able to get better responses through semi focused interviews where I could question an interviewee further and find out more about any interesting areas of response. It was essential to revise the questions I used and to develop my interview technique over a period of time as I identified problems. In some of the initial interviews I discovered that interviewees were not responding with sufficient information as a direct result of the way I was phrasing a question. Some of the interviewees found some of the questions difficult to understand and I spent time re-phrasing these questions or adding new ones until I felt satisfied that the questions were comprehended clearly.

Some of the interviews I conducted with probation clients were ethnographic, that is to say that I had a number of areas and topics outlined for discussion in addition to the set questions. For example, I asked the clients to discuss their feelings towards the Drama Work they had undertaken. I gathered a great deal of information from the clients as a result of this method. They discussed their feelings towards the work, how they perceived it had or had not helped them and how it fitted into their lives. I conducted interviews with some of the 40 ex-offenders over a period of time. That is, I interviewed clients during the process of their first experience of Drama Work, again when the work had ended, six months and one year later and, finally, I contacted the same group again towards the completion of my research.

Although this was only possible for a sample group of ten participants who lived in the London area and stayed within the area and in contact with me over the four-year period, it provided valuable data. When analysed alongside offending history it was possible to see whether or not the Drama Work they had undertaken or some other intervention during the same period had had an impact or not. Although I had to trust the

clients' honesty in response to questions about whether or not they had re-offended, their presence was at least proof that they had not been reconvicted and imprisoned.

Specific Statistics

When I needed specific information such as prison or probation statistics I used current Home Office statistical bulletins where available. I established contact with a member of staff in the Statistical Research Office at the Home Office who periodically provided information I required that was not available in printed form. This proved to be a valuable contact and meant I was able to gain access to very current information.

Where I needed specific information relating to a prison, for example the number and type of drama projects carried out in that prison during a particular period and who had funded those projects, I wrote to the prison education department directly, explaining my purpose and objectives. When I did not receive a response I followed up my letter with a telephone call and was able to gain the necessary information in that way. Comparing and contrasting existing drama facilities between prisons proved an important method of gaining an accurate over-all picture of drama in prison countrywide.

Contextual Issues

A contextual issue that affected the research was myself as an interviewer, (May, 1993), a white, woman 23-29, pursuing a doctorate. Goffman (1959) wrote about the effect of people's behaviour of their perceptions of the person they are interacting with. In particular, people are keen to present themselves in a

positive manner. Their judgement of what puts them in a positive light will depend upon their assessment of the other person and what they believe that person expects of them. Perceptions may be based upon the behaviour of the other person and judged according to previous experience and stereotypes.

In general, I did not find my young, white, female status to be a problem in interview situations and I felt confident in the majority of interviews that this was not a problem for the interviewees. There was only one interview where I felt that my status as a white, middle class, female academic hindered the interview. I tried to put the interviewee at ease and simplified questions so that he did not feel threatened. In my work with offenders it is necessary for me to adopt a manner, which makes them feel comfortable and safe, that I am 'one of them' in many respects. This included adopting the language and jargon of the subjects. Prisoners and ex-offenders use various terms that may not be familiar to those who have no experience of prison life. As a researcher it was imperative that I understood this unique language. Fortunately, due to the length of time I have been working in prisons and with ex-offenders I have become fluent in this sub-culture language. An example may be the phrase 'doing bird' which means a period of time spent in prison, to 'chore' is to steal, 'on the twos' refers to having a cell on the second landing.[4]

Even within this language there are discrepancies that must be noted. For young offenders, the term 'nonce' is used to describe a prisoner held in segregation under Rule 43 of the Prison Act, irrelevant of his offence. For older prisoners this term refers specifically to those convicted of sexual offences and more commonly those convicted of paedophilia.

I also found it essential that I understood prison regime and the informal but crucial prison lore. I discovered that it was only through time and experience that I was able to learn about the very nature of prison and prison lore. There are a number of superstitions that are understood by prisoners. An example may be the belief that if an ex-prisoner visits a friend in prison then before long he will be convicted and held in that prison. Another example is the belief that if a prisoner takes any souvenirs with him when he is released, he will come back and use them. While this prison lore may seem irrelevant, it all forms part of the context for the prisoner and so is essential in understanding his behaviour.

My experience has made me adept at understanding the language and lore of offenders and I found myself adopting a suitable persona within interview situations in order to gain a more effective response.

I felt it was important to explain my purpose when interviewing offenders in order that participants were present with fully informed consent including consent to use my research findings. Such consent is required under ethical principles of research and should be employed unless there is deemed to be a minimal risk to the participant. Minimal risk can be assumed when research that is removed from direct contact with participants is involved, such as observational research or when the topics are deemed innocuous (Rudestan and Newton, 1992).

Jorgensen discusses this matter in terms of ethics:

> Studies of crime and deviance would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, if participant observers were required to announce their research purposes constantly (Jorgensen, 1989: 29).

It is essential to maintain a balance between the truth regarding what one is researching and a position where one can gain as much relevant and genuine data as possible. In this case I was discussing offending and trying to establish the contribution Drama Work made, if any, towards moving away from offending behaviour. In interview contexts I found it best to be entirely truthful about my aim. While running groups or taking part in groups facilitated by other practitioners I did not always explain my presence in terms of research. Valuable data was obtained via this method.

Gathering Information

> Observation begins the moment the participant observer makes contact with a potential field setting. Aside from collecting information, the basic goal of these largely unfocussed initial observations is to become increasingly familiar with the insiders' world so as to refine and focus subsequent observation and data collection. It is extremely important that you record these observations as immediately as possible and with the greatest possible detail because never again will you experience the setting as so utterly unfamiliar (Jorgensen, 1989: 82).

Jorgensen's observation is particularly relevant when working in a setting as unfamiliar as a prison or institution. On entering such an establishment, the researcher is immediately subject to regulations and procedures that do not occur in any other location. It is essential that the researcher learn to act within these unfamiliar regulations in order to continue accessing the setting, while maintaining enough distance to observe them as an insider would when facing them for the first time.

When working in such a context, it is very difficult to take notes while the phenomena is occurring. Producing a note pad and pen in a prison context would immediately create distrust from the prisoners. Therefore it was essential to memorise as much as possible and to notate it immediately after a session. As video and photographic cameras are not allowed beyond the prison gate, I was unable to exploit this valuable tool for recording data. I kept a diary for each separate project, noting as much as possible about the setting, the organisation, the demographics and structure of the group and the individuals themselves as well as in-depth notation of the session itself and what emerged from the work. I tried to make these notes as quickly as possible on completion of a session while the thoughts and feelings were fresh in my mind. I was aware that in the course of post-session note-taking, valuable events or instances might be forgotten or neglected and so insufficiently

recorded. Random samples of the diary extracts may be found in Appendix Eleven.

It is vital to be fully prepared for a session. For example, my diary for a particular meeting with a group would start with detailed notes on what I intended to do. I notated exercises, information I had been given about the group and themes I intended to raise. I created checklists that were easy to fill in quickly after a session, giving more time to note any unusual observations.

An example of these notes follows.

Diary Notes

DATE:	20/06/97
TIME:	14.00 hours to 16.00 hours: 2 hour workshop as part of residency.
PRISON:	HMP Norwich
LOCATION:	Education block, classroom
GROUP:	15 male young offenders attending education regularly
SESSION:	Following performance of THE ART OF BEING IN THE WRONG PLACE AT THE WRONG TIME
CO-WORKERS:	Chris Johnston & Richmond Trew
THEMES:	Criminal code, friends (pre-conviction), role of women (what do you tell and what is un-said)

EXERCISES:

1:	**DISCUSSION:**	Discuss the play. What was it about? What were the central themes? Discuss the behaviour of the characters.
2:	**FORUM:**	Forum Clive's arrival at Alex's flat after his release from prison. Did Alex handle Clive in the best way possible? Is there something else he could have

done? Does he 'owe' Clive? What does he 'owe' Saskia?

3: DISCUSSION: Discuss the issues raised by the forum. Discuss the codes involved.

4: WORKSHOP: Workshop the discussed codes through group exercises. Keep this area informal, dependent on what arises from the group. Johnston to lead, Trew & di Girolamo to participate.

POST SESSION NOTES:

HMP Norwich education facilities are very poor. The men attending had not chosen to attend drama session even though we requested that they were and were told they had. Men enjoyed the play and were interested in the themes. They focused on several themes:

(1) **Alex's attempts to break the crime cycle and change his behaviour.**

Men associated with Alex and felt that they had experienced friends like Clive who had led them back into crime. They discussed how very difficult it is to break away from old friends when released and returned to their community. Friends expect the 'same person' to come out of prison as went in and it is difficult to tell them you have changed. Problems include loss of status, loss of financial gain, making new friends, gaining skills and employment.

(2) Clive's return.

Men were split in their attitudes to this aspect of the play. The older men felt that Alex did owe Clive when he came out of prison because Alex had been involved in the scam for which Clive was convicted. Some of the men felt that Alex owed more to Clive than to his partner Saskia. The younger men were concerned that Clive's behaviour in the hotel room made him a 'nonce' (a prisoner subject to Rule 43 or a sex offender). There was a lot of discussion about what makes someone a sex offender. We discussed whether or not the men present had ever had sexual relations with a minor while they were aged over sixteen years and many admitted they had. We also discussed whether or not men present had had sexual relations with women by asserting some pressure and again some of the men admitted to similar situations. It was suggested that both of these situations could theoretically lead to a conviction and therefore the offender may be segregated on Rule 43 as the offenses were of a sexual nature. Would they then be considered 'nonces'? Some of the men then tried to justify Clive's behaviour with statements, e.g. 'Saskia was asking for it', 'Saskia deserved it', when discussing the possible rape of this character.

12 out of 15 stated that if Drama Workshops were available in the prison they would like to attend. None had ever attended any Drama Workshops other than at school. One stated that he felt by

using the forum he had gained a better understanding of the characters and was able to relate their actions to his own. All other men agreed. One man stated that he was angry that such facilities were not available in prison and all others agreed. Six men asked for information about drama sessions for probation clients on their release.[5]

The diary notes I made following each workshop and discussion provided valuable data. I was able to assess the participants' views towards Drama Work and gain an understanding of how Drama Workshops were perceived within a particular institution by both staff and inmates.

Informal Conversations

Jorgensen suggests that informal conversations and casual questioning is valuable in the quest for data. (Jorgensen, 1989). In a prison context this is particularly true. I discovered that it was in the breaks that prisoners who had been less vocal within the group were able to voice their opinion or question the work. This is partially due to prison status. Often a prisoner who feels he holds inferior status within the group of prisoners present will be afraid to voice his opinions openly. In this respect the breaks are crucial and I gained a great deal of valuable data from these informal conversations. I also found informal conversations with education staff and prison officers provided valuable data.

Questionnaires

While I interviewed as many ex-offenders attending Drama Work courses as I could (40), I also used questionnaires to interview those I could not meet with personally, those in prison

or those who wished to retain total anonymity. I used questionnaires to gain information from three separate sets of offenders who had worked with the three major companies, Insight Arts Trust, Clean Break and Geese Theatre Company GB. The three sets of participants who filled in the questionnaires had attended very different types of programmes, providing a varied sample. Five participants had attended compulsory drama programmes, facilitated by Geese Theatre Company, as part of a court order, which required them to attend. The five participants who had attended Clean Break and the five participants from Insight Arts Trust were attending voluntarily. I decided to vary the sample because I hypothesised that the responses from those attending voluntarily would differ from the responses of those attending as part of a court order.

The demographics of the participants can be found in Appendix Four. I tried to use as balanced a sample in terms of sex, age and colour as possible and these differences affected responses. The diverse range of offending histories of the participants also affected responses, for example in terms of how useful drama is deemed to be in the reduction of certain types of offending. The raw data in the form of grouped responses can be found in Appendix Thirteen.

May (1993) stresses the importance of the context of an interview and the subsequent affect on the gained data. This became evident in the difference between the interviews and questionnaire responses. In interviews I was able to question responses and gain further information. This was not possible for the ex-offenders that filled in questionnaires. The fact that I had greater access to the Insight Arts Trust clients and that their previous knowledge of me may have made them feel more comfortable about discussing the work with me, may have

affected the responses. The Geese and the majority of the Clean Break clients had no previous knowledge of me. In some cases this may have resulted in a guarded and less honest response. In other cases I felt the responses were potentially more honest due to the anonymity and the fact that there was no desire or need to impress me. The fact that the Geese participants had taken part in a compulsory programme also affected data. Those participants who were on voluntary drama courses with Insight Arts Trust or Clean Break were far more enthusiastic about Drama Work thus putting a positive bias on the data. In order to get over this discrepancy, I interviewed a number of clients who had worked with Insight, Geese and Clean Break but had subsequently stopped attending programmes.

The Effect of Bias

It was essential that I was aware of my own values, theories and feelings in order to minimise the effect of bias on my research. Lack of awareness of my own biases could easily have affected the way I asked questions resulting in asking leading questions in order to attain a particular response (Newell, 1982). I was also aware that my own biases could lead to an inaccurate interpretation of responses (Jones, 1985).

The bias I was particularly aware of, as it was at the core of the research, was that as a Drama Worker, I believe drama is a valuable tool to be used with offenders. I ensured that I did not convey this belief to the participants in case they attempted to make a good impression and say what they felt I wanted them to say. In this case the questionnaires were very effective. The participants knew nothing about me and therefore did not need

to make a good impression. However I did take into account that the participants may assume I was in favour of Drama Work, because it was the subject of my research.

Analysis of data

The analysis of data went through several stages. The semi-structured interviews and questionnaire responses made it easy to group responses. This was particularly true for the Insight, Geese and Clean Break questionnaires as the answers were short. I was able to code answers by grouping similar responses, which were identified and counted in order to gain raw data figures (May, 1993). These can be found in Appendix Thirteen. It was more problematic to group the responses from the forty interviews, as quite often the responses were very long and detailed. I tried to group them in a similar way and then made additional notes where the interviewees had made other comments I considered useful to the research. This was helpful in providing a set of raw data, which was easy to read and interpret. This may be found in Appendix Twelve.

Initially, I grouped responses to each question on separate pages. This enabled me to re-familiarise myself with the data and to identify patterns (May, 1993). I considered the research objectives in order to group the responses under broader headings. I used headings such as perceived benefits of drama, who drama may be considered suitable for, how drama may be used, availability of drama programmes, previous contact with drama activities amongst others. I re-read questionnaires and the diary notes taken following participant observation sessions in order to recall the flavour of the responses and how I felt about them at the time.

It was essential to be aware of my bias in favour of Drama Work and in favour of Insight Arts Trust when analysing findings and conducting the research. I had to acknowledge my subjectivity when deciding upon the relevance of data. I also needed to be aware of this factor during interviews and in the process of interpreting what interviewees said. I was also aware that subjectivity inevitably affects all research (Walker 1985).

I had chosen a wide sample group for research purposes covering compulsory and voluntary programmes, with male and female offenders of differing ages, ethnicity and offending histories. I had interviewed participants from short-term projects, residencies and workshops in prison and on probation. I had interviewed practitioners with conventional theatre or education backgrounds as well as practitioners who had started out as offenders on a drama programme. The fieldwork revealed broad consistencies in the responses across the different groups.

The Pros and Cons of the Methods Used

While the methods used to conduct the research yielded good information there were a number of problems that I identified. It is my belief that my findings are based on reliable sources despite the obvious problems that go with qualitative research methods.

One of the benefits of participant observation is observing and experiencing the phenomena one is researching from within, seeing through the eyes of the participants. The researcher is able to gain access to information and informal conversations and a large amount of information is available to analyse. It is also these benefits that create problems. It may be difficult to maintain the necessary detachment to analyse the research

phenomena because the researcher is so involved with the group and the group's problems. This involvement also makes it difficult to interpret the information obtained in an unbiased manner. The nature of the method leaves the researcher with an enormous amount of data to interpret and analyse.

There are also specific problems pertaining to participant observation for the Drama Worker. Drama is a tactile activity where touch and human contact are important. Maintaining appropriate levels of physical contact between a female Drama Worker and a prison inmate can occasionally be problematic. While I have been fortunate in this respect and encountered very few problems, other Drama Workers interviewed for this thesis have identified difficult situations where physical contact necessary for the exploration of a dramatic exercise may have been misinterpreted (Drama Worker 8, 1997, Drama Worker 10, 1998).

Working with probation clients or those on parole may also lead to specific problems. If the individual re-offends or is suspected of re-offending, he or she may be at risk of immediate imprisonment. While working on a project with Insight Arts Trust in 1997, such an incident occurred. During an hour-long break between rehearsals, on the evening prior to the first performance of a short play, devised for a conference, the leading man was arrested. This left the remaining cast without their leading actor. It was necessary to find an actor who was able to learn the part overnight and rehearse very quickly. This was possible and the performance went ahead successfully. It was an unfortunate situation and the arrested probation client was found not guilty and had been wrongfully arrested because he fitted the description given, was in the area and was on probation for a similar offence.

Even without the daunting possibility of arrest, probation clients often drop out of projects giving little or no reason, simply disappearing. This is problematic when a performance has been devised and rehearsed only to lose a group member in the middle of the project.

Interviewing participants directly also has a number of advantages and disadvantages. The researcher is able to ask direct questions and discover how participants feel about a specific subject. This method allows data to be gained, which can be easily grouped or coded giving ease of analysis. However devising questions that may be understood by a group with generally low literacy skills is problematic. The group of interviewees may vary considerably in terms of their education and therefore their understanding of certain questions. It may be necessary to combat this by re-phrasing questions specifically for each interviewee as discussed earlier.

Another difficulty, which may occur, is that interviewees who have come to know the researcher through participant observation may be anxious to please the interviewer and so give answers which are not entirely honest. I tried to combat this by assuring interviewees that I wanted them to be as honest as possible about their feelings towards the work irrelevant of what they thought I might want to hear.

Conclusion

Chapter Three has examined the methodology of this study including primary and secondary methods. Reasons for choosing the methods used have been given. The primary method of participant observation has been analysed and specific examples of the author's experience during this research have been charted. Consideration has been given to contextual issues and the effect of bias on the data collated. The

various pros and cons of the methods employed have been examined and specific examples cited.

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[1] Extracts of recorded workshop see Appendix 10 for full transcripts.

[2] Extracts of recorded workshop see Appendix 10 for full transcripts.

[3] Extracts of recorded workshop see Appendix 10 for full transcripts.

[4] Please refer to the glossary in Appendix 6 for further explanations of prison slang.

[5] This is an extract from the diary I kept throughout the period of participant observation. Two further extracts, randomly selected from my diary can be found in Appendix 11.

CHAPTER FOUR: TARGET GROUPS AND PROGRAMMES

There are a variety of ways in which Drama Work is applied within a prison setting or a probation context. The length of projects vary considerably and the length of time spent with clients informs the type of results which may be achieved. While some projects are compulsory, part of a court order for instance, others are voluntary. This chapter explores the nature of different projects drawing on specific examples taken from my own experience. Focussing on Insight Arts Trust, I discuss how different projects work and the type of projects undertaken.

Regular Drama Workshops with Probation Clients

Both Clean Break Theatre Company and Insight Arts Trust run regular Drama Workshops with probation clients and ex-offenders. While Clean Break work from an educational view point, running courses in drama, accredited by the London Open College Federation, preparing clients for university entry, Insight Arts Trust's courses are vocational. One of the groups I targeted in terms of research was the ex-offenders who regularly attend the regular Drama Workshops run by Chris Johnston and myself (1996-97) for Insight Arts Trust. This is a group of probation clients who attend on a non-compulsory basis and therefore have some interest in drama.

Fig. 8: Insight Arts Trust Regular Drama Workshop at Camden House

The regular workshops are informal and low-key. Insight Arts Trust aim to equip the clients with basic drama skills and to improve their social skills. The sessions take place in the evening, two nights a week for a period of twelve weeks and last two hours. Pre-session, the group will meet in a social context for half an hour, to drink coffee and chat. This enables the clients to get to know one another on a personal basis and so feel more comfortable within the drama sessions. A twenty-minute break in the middle of the session allows for similar experience.

The exercises employed are frequently improvisational. Simple physical warm-ups in the form of games start the session and evoke a jovial atmosphere. (For a detailed breakdown of a typical session see Chapter Three). Both Johnston and myself use a selection of trust exercises following the warm up in order to allow the clients to gain each other's trust. A typical trust game may be to divide the group into partners labelled A and B. A will lead B around the room with their eyes shut, ensuring they avoid danger or collision with other clients. For further drama

games suitable for use with offenders please refer to Chapter Six and see Johnston (1998) for further reference.

Fig. 9: A group of Insight Arts Trust clients involved in improvisation.

Drama generally involves a degree of tactility. This is an area that is often a major stumbling block for ex-prisoners. In prison, personal space is rare and so valued highly. Physical contact between men is not often seen as positive in a prison context. This is one area, therefore, we are keen to deal with swiftly while dealing with the problems that arise cautiously. The 'leading blind' exercise is one way to introduce touch without threat. The leader is seen as a protector or a guide and not an invader of personal space.

Another gentle introduction to physical contact that I employ is to use mirror games. The actors stand opposite each other and mirror each other's actions, gaining a sense of complicity and becoming 'one'. The actors must attempt to reach a situation where it is impossible to distinguish who is the leader and who is the follower. This exercise can then develop to a point where

the two actors are joined by the contact of one or both palms. They can move around the space but must not break the contact point.

The regular group is a valuable area of research. By meeting with them on a regular basis, I am able to become familiar with them. I also have access to their offending histories which allow me to view their progress in context and to evaluate it. It is within this context that participant observation is a prime technique. If I were to simply observe the group, several difficulties may arise.

Clients invariably feel uncomfortable if they are being 'watched', particularly if the watcher is taking notes or making a video record of the workshop. By leading a workshop or taking part while Johnston is leading, I can be seen as one of the group. In this role, clients are more likely to be open with me about their thoughts and feelings thus providing me with valuable research material. In my experience, this has certainly proved true.

Fig. 10: Insight Arts Trust Regular Drama Workshop at Camden House

By attending twice-weekly workshops over a period of time, clients are able to develop new skills they can build upon in subsequent sessions. The brevity of these sessions does not make them suitable for in-depth work or work surrounding an individual's offending behaviour. However, issues relating to crime and criminal behaviour may be worked into spontaneous improvisations and prepared improvisations as detailed in Chapter Three.

Short-Term Projects with Probation Clients

Short-term projects with probation clients are a central component of the programmes delivered by all three of the target companies. The majority of the short-term projects run by Geese Theatre Company are compulsory. Probation clients attend as part of a court order. The short-term programmes run by Clean Break and Insight Arts Trust are in the main part voluntary. Insight Arts Trust facilitates a number of short-term projects with ex-offenders on probation.

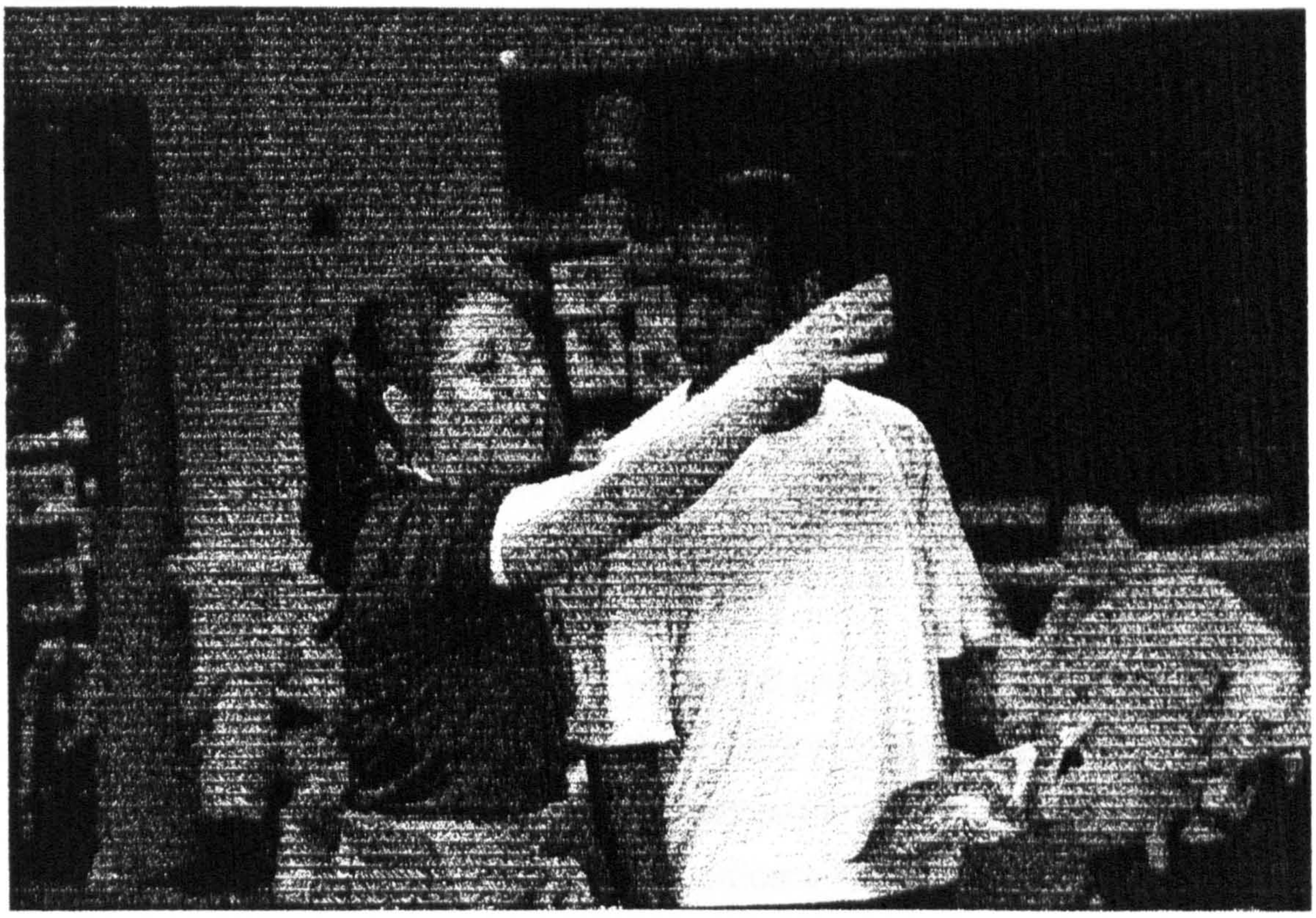

Fig 11: 'Between the Lines', a short-term project with Insight Arts Trust

In order to demonstrate how these projects operate, I will focus on a recent project on which I was employed as a Drama Worker. My job description and responsibilities were as follows.

1.) To share running of workshops and performance devising sessions and to run some sessions single-handed.
2.) To be responsible for maintaining a register of attendance.

3.) During the festival, to be responsible for supporting and supervising participants. This may mean ensuring that participants are attending sessions within the festival and not causing problems for the host organisers.

4.) To be available for occasional meetings outside drama/theatre sessions in order to review/plan the work.

5.) To be available to meet with any participant experiencing difficulties.

Guess and Run

The Guess and Run project began in June 1996. Funded by the Inner London Probation Service, Insight Arts Trust was given the opportunity to devise a piece of theatre with a group of eight ex-offenders serving under probation orders. While the project was non-compulsory, dropping out of the project would be greeted with a dim view by a client's probation officer. A positive report from Insight Arts Trust to a client's probation team would be of great benefit to the client.

The devised play 'Guess and Run' would be performed twice, once at the 'Round Festival' in South Petherton in Somerset (predominantly a Community Theatre festival) and then again, informally for friends, family, probation officers and those connected to Insight Arts Trust, such as staff or funding bodies.

The men who formed the group volunteered themselves to be part of the project after attending the twice-weekly, regular Drama Workshops, then held at the Holborn Centre for Performing Arts rather than Camden House. To become part of the workshop group, the men would be referred by their probation officers or call us directly having seen publicity and then attend an interview at the Insight office. For this project I

was employed as a Drama Worker and my role was to co-lead the workshops, co-devise the project and perform alongside the men.

In the original meetings Chris Johnston (the then Project Director of Insight Arts Trust) and myself discussed the necessity of encouraging female probation clients to join the group. We ensured that all avenues were pursued in the attempt to have female members as part of the team. Unfortunately, our efforts were un-rewarded and the regular drama group was comprised of twelve men.

The absence of female probation clients was discussed and we concluded that there were two main reasons for the scarcity. Firstly, there are considerably fewer female offenders than male, as demonstrated in the prison statistics in Chapter One. Therefore there are fewer women serving probation orders within Inner London Probation Services catchments area. In England and Wales in 1997, 40,803 men commenced probation orders while only 10,126 women started probation orders in the same year (Probation Statistics England and Wales, 1997, Home Office, 1998). Secondly, the female probation clients within the inner London region who express an interest in drama are generally referred to Clean Break Theatre Company (see Chapter One), who have a female-only policy.

The men who opted for the 'Guess and Run' project, had attended eight drama sessions lead by myself and/or Chris Johnston. The sessions were aimed at a level suitable for people who had little or no experience of theatre or Drama Work. Only two members of the group had previously been involved in Drama Work. One had completed an opera probation project run by the English National Opera Education group and the other had experience of amateur theatre groups. The

majority had no experience of Drama Work and therefore had mixed preconceptions of what would take place, and indeed of drama itself.

We explained to the group that the sessions would follow a structure and rules were set out immediately, to combat any problems that may arise later. The basic rules were as follows:

1.) The use of drugs and alcohol are strictly prohibited prior to and during the sessions.
2.) Racist remarks and behaviour are not acceptable.
3.) All sessions must be attended unless there is a valid reason, discussed with Chris or myself prior to the session, e.g. signing-on days, probation appointments etc.
4.) Violent behaviour within the group is not acceptable.
5.) Time keeping is essential and any person arriving more than 20 minutes after the commencement of a session will not be admitted unless we have been previously informed of the lateness. Any person who is repeatedly late will have to leave the project.

It was then made clear that the project, whilst voluntary, needed a level of commitment and that if anyone felt they did not want to be a part of the project they should discuss their problem with us as soon as possible rather than just stop attending. We also made every effort to instil a sense of group harmony being necessary, for a successful production.

We encouraged respect of each other's ideas and views and the notion of discussing without argument and without taking offence. All ideas would be included initially and then the group would discuss and vote on the themes and ideas to be used in the piece.

The first week of the project consisted of two days per week, working six hours a day with regular breaks. The first two days were aimed at building group unity and developing drama skills. After the first exercise one of the men left saying he felt unwell, but never returned. This left us with seven men and we expected to lose at least another one or two.

The first significant problem arose after the man did not arrive the next morning. Most of the group were keen to get him back and did not feel that Chris Johnston and I were doing enough to encourage such a situation. In fact, both Chris and Insight's Director had spoken to the man's probation officer and attempted to communicate with him. Within the ensuing discussion, one of the men emerged as a clear group leader who monopolised the group within the working sessions and the breaks. His outspoken manner was seen as positive by the group but proved detrimental to the work almost every day. I shall call this man, 'Peter', for the purpose of this thesis.

'Peter' frequently voiced his opinions as fact and became very argumentative and aggressive towards Chris Johnston, myself and other group members. As a family member, 'Tony' was also part of the group and twelve years younger than 'Peter'. Their connection and reliance upon each other also caused friction and problems within the group. 'Tony' seemed inhibited whenever in a group with 'Peter', who was highly critical of his skills. 'Peter's' 'know it all' approach meant he would not accept the authority of Chris Johnston or myself on any subject including drama. He refused to drop his pre-conceptions of theatre, mainly influenced by American films, and he insisted on talking about what was 'real' and so censoring any ability to suspend disbelief within the world of theatre. He would frequently use expressions such as, 'That wouldn't happen in real life', or 'I am an expert in this situation'. His poor

communication skills lead to repeated communication difficulties, as he would misunderstand our instructions. A great deal of time was wasted in lengthy discussions relating to largely unimportant events.

These discussions would continue during the smoking breaks and often lead to the men returning up to fifteen minutes later than scheduled, thus wasting more of the precious devising time. Chris Johnston warned the group of the lack of available time and attempted to instil the importance of short breaks and accurate time keeping to the group.

While 'Peter' still caused many difficult situations and arguments within the group, Chris Johnston and I managed to mediate and intervene before the situation got out of hand. The 'play' began to take shape and covered a number of themes that the men had raised, through both discussion and improvisation, as significant to them. These were as follows;

1. Family loyalty.
2. Breaking trust.
3. Theft.
4. Re-uniting of family after difficulties.
5. The influence of drugs upon criminal activity.
6. Disruption of family unit by outsider.

'Guess and Run' Synopsis

'Guess and Run' followed the story of the McGovern family business run by three brothers and their ailing father. Their sister's husband persuades the sister to steal from the company to set up on their own and leave their debts behind. The couple run away leaving the family destitute. The family become strong in their time of difficulty. The father is taken ill and pleads with

the brothers to find their sister, despite her crime, before he dies. Eventually she is found, pregnant and abandoned by her husband, recovering from heroin addiction in a re-hab centre. The good news is taken to the father who is overjoyed that the daughter is alive and is expecting his first grandchild. When the sister is well, she returns home to greet her father and ask forgiveness. The father has died and she is too late.

The men became excited as the play took shape and the festival grew closer. A sense of unity amongst the group took over and the previous problems were forgotten. Chris Johnston and I met to discuss the logistics of the trip and our responsibilities as carers while at the festival.

We arrived in South Petherton with a full cast, which was a good sign as men so often seem to drop out at the last minute through fear or trepidation. However, the first night was not a success. While most of the men took the opportunity of an early night, ready for the busy festival schedule of the following day, 'Peter', 'Tony' and another group member whom I shall call 'Dave', chose a different pastime.

They bought large quantities of alcohol, became intoxicated and caused a great deal of problems at the campsite where we were staying as well as in the village itself. The following morning we were asked to seek alternative accommodation and a meeting was arranged to discuss whether or not we should return to London.

After much administration and discussion, it was decided the group would stay and perform as planned under the condition that there was no repetition of the previous night's behaviour. The men were scared of losing their chance to perform and

were sincerely apologetic. Their behaviour improved and there were no more problems of this nature.

The performance of 'Guess and Run' was greeted with a great deal of enthusiasm by the festival participants and audience members and received a lot of positive feedback. The men felt proud of their achievements and revelled in their celebrity status within the festival community. 'Peter' said of the performance;

'It was great to get up there and perform in front of all those people. I never thought we'd do it. I feel very proud of us all. People really liked our play. I want to do more now, I'm thinking up a few ideas for next year. I'm definitely coming back.'

Another group member's comment was:
'It was wicked, such a good feeling. Everyone looking at you and you up there doing something really good. Loads of people said our play's been the best one so far.'

On our return to London, Insight Arts Trust's Projects Director Chris Johnston, Director Tom O'Mara and myself met to discuss the project. We attempted to come up with solutions to the problems that occurred to be implemented for the following year's visit to the festival. We arrived at some guidelines for the company's return visit.

1.) Camp site accommodation was not suitable and a building solely inhabited by the Insight Arts Trust team would be preferable.

2.) We needed more than two workers for such an ambitious project, at least four for a group of eight men.

3.) It would be useful to have at least one staff member/worker who was involved as a Client Liaison Officer, a sort of social

> worker, there solely to listen to the men's problems and grievances and to mediate in disputes, allowing other workers to concentrate mainly on the artistic side of the work.

These suggestions were implemented for the following year's project and there were no significant problems.

Long-term Projects with Probation Clients

Long-term projects with probations clients provide a unique opportunity to build skills over a period of time and to challenge offending behaviour. There is little funding available to companies for long-term projects and so it is important to find other ways of working with offenders over a long period. One way to combat the lack of funding is to include probation clients in touring theatre productions. There are a number of ways in which Drama Workers conduct long-term projects with probation clients. Few of the major prison theatre companies use ex-offenders in their touring work and fewer still use clients currently serving probation orders.

Clean Break, founded in 1979 by two female ex-prisoners on leaving HMP Askam Grange, has become one of the leading prison theatre companies. Through their theatre education and training programmes they work exclusively with female ex-offenders using drama. Clean Break mount one major theatre production each year. In recent years these have included 'Red' by ex-prisoner Anna Reynolds and 'Mules' by Winsome Pinnock. These productions have played highly reputable venues such as The Royal Court in London, reaching a wide audience, while also touring prison venues nationally. Issues that affect female offenders are tackled.

The actors are professional and not essentially ex-offenders. Advertisements for actors ask for performers with some custodial history or probation history, dealing with the courts, or alcohol or drug related history. These are not students who have gone through programmes but outsiders, professionals with some link to criminal behaviour however slight. Students on the education training programmes devise performances, which enjoy a limited run and do not tour professional venues.

Many of the students have been attending training programmes with Clean Break for some years and there is no clear progression into professional theatre or even Drama Worker roles. Insight Arts Trust employ a policy of training whereby, students can aim to work for the company as Drama Workers or as professional actors. 'The Anger Dyes' which toured prisons nationally in 1994 had a cast made up of four ex-offenders, three on probation and one on parole, working alongside three professional actresses (one of whom was also a Drama Worker). By including probation clients in the cast of the play, Insight were able to work with the same group, albeit a small one, over a much longer period of time than is usual.

Fig. 12: A Scene from 'The Anger Dyes', at the New Grove Theatre.

The play, devised by the company to tackle issues relating to the clients, enjoyed a professional London run at The New Grove Theatre in Kings Cross. The clients experienced working as professional actors in a London venue.

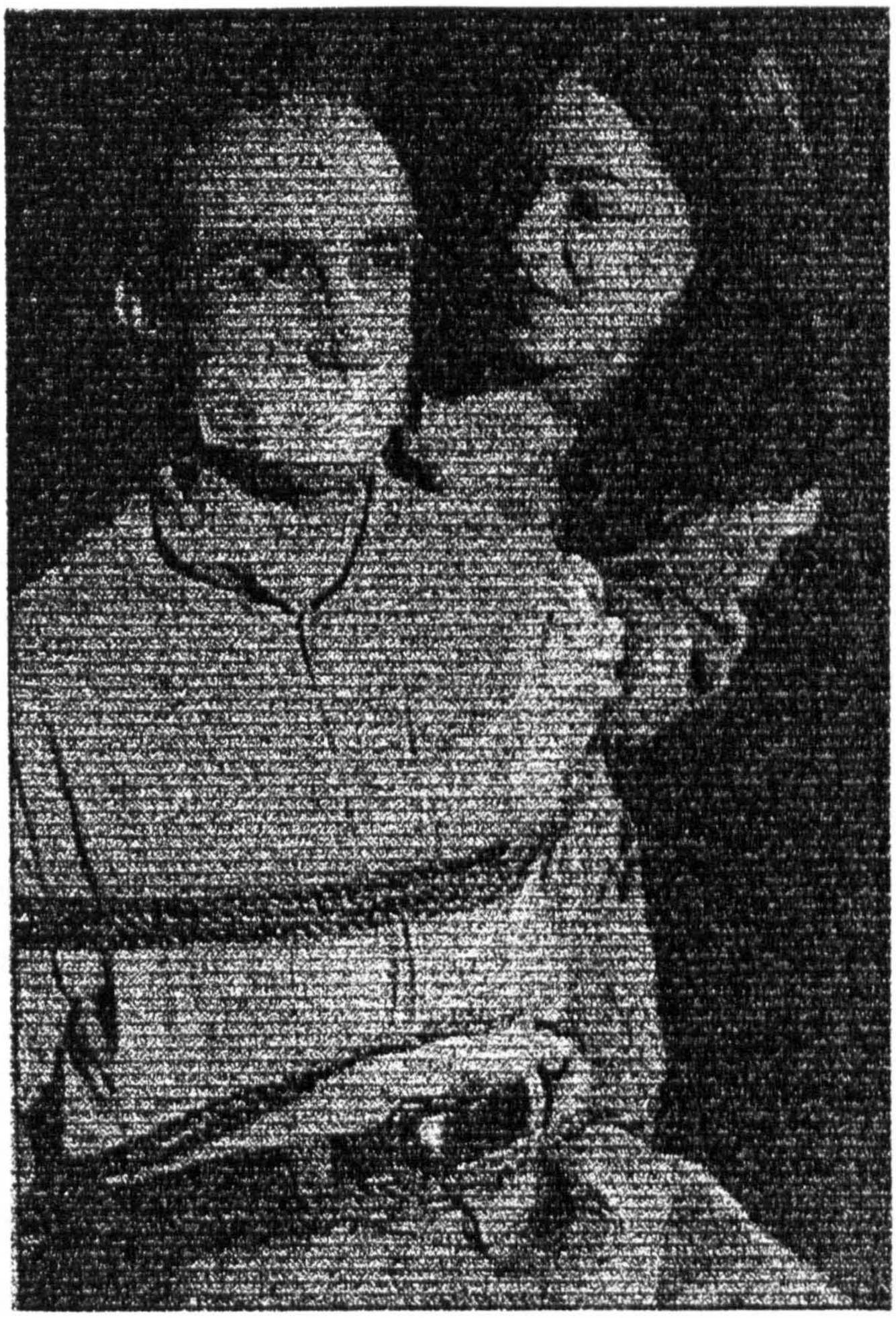

Fig. 13: A scene from 'The Anger Dyes' at the New Grove Theatre

> I felt an enormous sense of achievement; I mean there was me, acting on stage in front of lots of people in a real theatre and then reading about it in revues, in The Times and everything. It made me feel I had done something really special (Offender 1, 06.01.94, London).

By giving the clients this unique opportunity, self-esteem is raised and a great deal is learnt. One Clean Break student I spoke to resented the fact that this progression was missing within the company's work.

> It's brilliant seeing the plays on that Clean Break do, but I want to get up on the stage and do it, too. We do little shows and that, but not in real theatres. There's no chance of becoming a professional actress. You can be a stage manager and that but they get real actors in (Offender 28, 18.02.94, London).

Out of the four actor/offenders involved in Insight Arts Trust's 'The Anger Dyes' project and tour, all four have gone forward to improve their career chances. One is now a professional actor and Drama Worker for Insight Arts Trust. Two went back to college to study visual art, one achieving a degree, the other a diploma. The fourth client has worked professionally as an actor in television and film and has recently completed a degree in Writing and Publishing, achieving a 2.1 (See Appendix 14 for full case study).

Only one man has re-offended since completing the project and he did not receive a custodial sentence. It is difficult to prove the affects of Drama Work without examining consequences over a lifetime, however these results, five years on are highly commendable. One Insight Arts Trust client said;

> Insight made me see there was an alternative to crime. They gave me support, helped me find my skills and talents. I don't know where I'd be now if I hadn't done stuff with Insight, probably banged up (Offender 25, 12.02.94, London).

Clean Break state in their literature that students are involved at all levels of the professional productions, from deciding themes to being members of the production team and cast. However,

the research for this paper has demonstrated that the clients are involved as production staff but rarely as performers.

In this respect, Insight Arts Trust are unique. All clients on long-term projects are given an opportunity to work as a professional. Insight Arts Trust's long-term projects last for a period of approximately seven months. Up to three months are spent devising the play, which is then toured for up to four months. During the devising process clients work with professional actors learning acting skills and processes. The professional actors are able to use their experience and skills to guide and help the non-actors.

Professional directors, choreographers and musicians are invited to work with the company for a few days each. During 'The Anger Dyes' project, there were exploratory workshops in dance and movement, Black theatre, acting and singing. The group then decided which aspects of these new skills would be used in the performance.

The play was devised through improvisation and then edited in to a script by the director, in this case Chris Johnston. Within 'The Anger Dyes' performance there was a section dealing with heroin withdrawal. The scene came from an improvisation by one of the client/performers who had once undergone heroin withdrawal while in custody. The actor/clients felt that this section should be movement based. A leading dancer and choreographer, James Hewison of V-Tol Dance Company [1] was called in to choreograph the section. By working with highly acclaimed professionals, self-esteem is raised and new skills are learned.

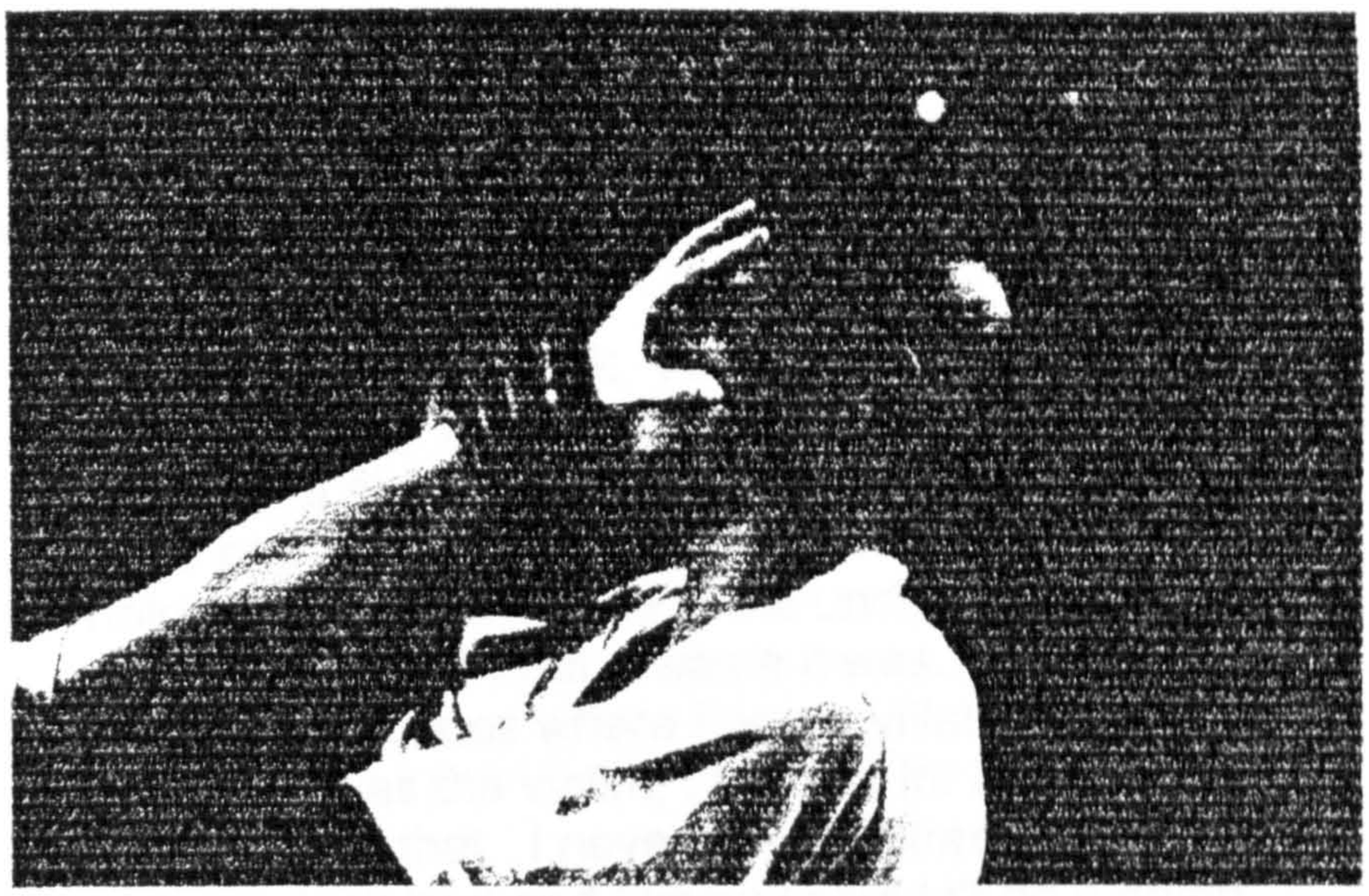

Fig. 14: 'Babyface fights his addiction', The Anger Dyes.

It was brilliant. If you'd told me one day I'd be doing a dance class I would have laughed my head off but it was really exciting. All the reviews picked up on the dance section, they loved it. It wasn't like ballet or anything - it was very brutal (Offender 32, 16.02.94, London).

Indeed, the Times newspaper described this client's performance, as heroin addict Babyface, as:

> electrifyingly freed up physically, is genuinely distressing: strung out, scratching at his face like a tortured soul: and throwing himself around the room which is sporadically lit by bare bulbs. There is also an outstanding dance duet where he symbolically fights, like Jacob verses the Angel, with his own addiction (Bassett, 1994:42)

By involving the clients in professional workshops and working over a long period of time, the clients are able to live an alternative lifestyle for this period. Confidence is built, new friends are made and alternatives are discovered. The work period is very intense leaving little opportunity to renew contacts with old friends, one of the biggest stumbling blocks for a probation client trying to 'go straight'. Ten clients involved in long-term projects with Insight were interviewed for this paper.

All ten stated that the project had changed their lives dramatically and that a return to their previous lifestyle felt impossible.

> I didn't want to go back. I made new friends, I felt like I was somebody for the first time in my life really. I could stand on a stage and make people laugh or cry. I had more power in my hands then than I did when I was holding a weapon. It made me understand what I had done before and what a waste it was. When we improvised scenes where I was a villain and one of the actresses was the victim, I felt bad for her. I could see her pain and that. I never saw it before, not with real victims. I felt bad and I knew I couldn't do it again (Offender 12, 05.02.94, London).

An understanding of why a person committed a crime was achieved and the impact on the victim became clear. One client felt he had become a 'real actor', which for him was an enormous achievement.

> I used to judge my performance on stage by the actress's reaction. If I made her cry I felt good because I had made a real actress really cry on stage. It made me feel like I must be a good actor (Offender 15, 06.02.94, London).

Insight Arts Trust does not only aim to help the actor/clients understand their actions and the feelings of others through drama. The finished play is toured to prisons nationally, often accompanied by a workshop. Inmates see a play that tackles issues that are very real for them. One inmate at HMP Cookham Wood said of the performance, 'It was so true to life, everyone could relate to it' (Inmate 1, 14.05.94, HMP Cookham Wood).

Feedback on the play from an education officer at HMP Risley also confirms this:

> As I watched the education inmates filing into the association room, I was aware of a feeling of impending

> boredom, resentment and resistance from some of them so it was with some trepidation that I sat down to watch your play (The Anger Dyes). But I needn't have worried – it was superb. I could sense their empathy with the characters – 'been there, done that, seen it all before' – and their enjoyment of the lighter parts. It was extremely well acted, presented and performed. My feedback next day on education was 100% approval and enjoyment (Education Co-ordinator Tina Lawston, 1994)[2]

The inmates watch the characters make mistakes and take the wrong routes, as they have done. Through workshop and discussion they in turn explore these issues. There is also another very positive aspect to this experience for the inmates, when they discover that four of the actors on stage are ex-offenders.

> I couldn't believe it, I thought they was brilliant and then when I found out that one of them had only got out of this place a year before, well. I thought, maybe I could do that. I done drama in prison, plays and that and I thought maybe I could do that when I get out. I got the company's number and I'm gonna call them on release. I've got another eighteen months yet but I'm going to do it when I get out (Inmate 2, 22.05.94, HMYOI Feltham).

This was also confirmed by an education officer at HMP Morton Hall, in a letter to IAT regarding 'The Anger Dyes':

> Many felt heartened by the knowledge that although cast members had been inside they had emerged and were able to mount a quality performance. There was a strong message in that success for the men here (Education Co-ordinator, 1994)[3].

Seeing ex-offenders achieve in front of their very eyes sends an important message to the inmates. Proof is given that with determination and the support of an organisation like Insight Arts Trust anything is possible, anyone can change their own destiny.

Long-term Prison Projects

Due to the nature of prison, it is very difficult to facilitate long-term prison projects. In the first place, gaining access to the same group of prisoners for longer than a week or two is near impossible. In my experience and the experience of other Drama Workers I interviewed for this paper, group members often change daily. Prison bureaucracy does not allow for a consistent group. Prison visits, canteen (the time when prisoners are able to buy tobacco and other small items from the prison 'shop') and withdrawal of privileges often remove a group member. In remand prisons the situation is even worse with the population changing daily as prisoners are released or sentenced and so moved or as new prisoners enter the prison.

It is also extremely difficult to gain funding for long-term projects in prison, which adds to their rarity. Some prisons are privileged enough to have a resident Drama Worker who can facilitate regular workshops and mount productions but these sessions are confined to education department times and locations thus not allowing for in-depth work over a longer period.

In the United States of America, several long-term projects have taken place where drama is used to re-train inmates and prepare them for release. Johnston and Hewish hope to facilitate a long-term re-training programme and prison drama project at HMYOI Swinfen Hall as detailed in Chapter One. Although they have been facilitating projects at the prison for the last year, it is still very early days. It is hoped that a project will be facilitated whereby the inmates will be re-trained, using drama and prepared for release into the community. They will learn new behavioural skills and confront their own offending behaviour. There would then be tasks to complete and re-training would be available should an offender fail the task. The outcome would be an inmate ready to face the community without the need to re-offend. It is

anticipated that the pre-release drama-based programme would last for between four and six months prior to release. It will be interesting to view the achievements and results of such a project should Hewish and Johnston be given the go ahead.

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[1] V-Tol Dance Company are a touring contemporary dance company of international repute. The artistic director is Mark Murphy and the company are based in London.

[2] Tina Lawston, 1994, TAC Education Co-ordinator, HMP Risley, in correspondence with Insight Arts Trust.

[3] Christine Fisher, Education Co-ordinator, 1994, HMP Morton Hall in correspondence with Insight Arts Trust.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS

In discussing the findings from the participant observation sessions and the 40 interviews with ex-offenders who had attended Drama Work programmes in prison and/or on probation, I shall focus on two main areas. The first concerns the benefits participants felt they gained from Drama Work. Secondly, I will explore participants' views on how Drama Work should be utilised with offenders in the community and in prison, based upon what they felt was successful and what was ineffective. I will use examples of my own work with offenders to illustrate processes and I will draw upon the comments made by the 40 interviewees and other offenders I met during the process of the research.

Perceived Benefits of Drama Work

Improved understanding of self and others

36 of the 40 participants agreed that their involvement with Drama Work had increased their understanding of themselves. Identification and understanding of patterns of behaviour were mentioned by 32 of the participants. 28 interviewees felt that their involvement in drama had increased their understanding of others, including comprehension of other people's behaviour or manner. Those who had attended longer courses, predominantly with Insight Arts Trust, felt they had increased understanding of both themselves and of others.

The participants who had taken part in drama projects with Insight Arts Trust and Clean Break responded with the greatest amount of enthusiasm in this area. 21 of the participants stated that the improvisational group work had enabled them to

understand the feelings of others and that they had gained respect for the other members of the group. 14 participants claimed to have made good friends through the work.

> With Insight, there's a lot of group work. You have to get on with other people. If someone isn't able to do that you see how quickly the group breaks down. It makes you aware of your own behaviour, too. You start to understand stuff about yourself (Offender 27, 12.01.94, London)

Another participant from the Insight group stated:

> Some of the exercises you have to do in the drama group make you realise things about yourself. I learned how to respect other people's feelings and opinions. We had to learn how to not block other people's ideas, that you have to listen to everyone in the group. I found that hard to start with but ,after a while, you see how important it is (Offender 6, 15.01.94, London)

One Insight participant who has subsequently gone on to facilitate workshops for Insight and other groups found himself able to deal with situations he had not previously thought himself capable. He also stated that through facilitating workshops with ex-offenders, he was confronted with people whom he recognised as being very like his 'old self'. He felt he knew how to help these people choose a different path, as he had done and, by helping others, he developed empathy for them.

Another participant said that through drama he had learnt that two people can easily perceive a word or an action very differently. This helped him to be more tolerant of others' differences and understand the importance of clear communication. The majority of the participants stated that through the group work they had learned how to mix with others successfully, share and co-operate and have a greater understanding of other people's feelings.

Choices and alternative behaviours

> I found that there was excitement outside of criminality (Offender 3, 21.01.94, London).

Drama Work helped participants realise that they had choices and that there were a range of ways one could respond to a situation. The work made the majority of the participants realise that they were responsible for the choices they made and ultimately for their own behaviour. Several participants stated that they had previously felt that bad things just 'happened to them' and that they found themselves suddenly involved in situations where they committed crimes. Through Drama Work, they discovered that they were indeed responsible for these situations and their own actions within them. Drama Work helped them recognise unhelpful patterns of behaviour and aided them in identifying new, more effective ways to behave. 28 of the total participants and all but one of the Insight and Clean Break participants mentioned recognition of self-defeating behaviour.

> I started to see that I was being argumentative. I felt affronted and caused confrontations to happen. The teacher (Drama Worker) got me to play a character that didn't respond aggressively in situations of confrontation. It was really hard not to get angry. It taught me that there's other ways to behave and it's up to you. (Offender 4, 21.01.94, London).

I have found in my own work that dramatic improvisation may be used to help participants break away from rigid behavioural patterns. One ex-offender whom I have worked with closely

over the past two years provides a good example of this in action. I shall refer to the man as 'Ron'.

'Ron"s probation report catalogued an offending history centred on violent action. The majority of his convictions were for GBH, attempted GBH and affray. 'Ron' felt that many of the fights he 'got himself into' were brought on by the third party misreading his behaviour. It was true that even when 'Ron' meant to speak or behave in a passive way, his manner appeared to be aggressive. A simple comment from 'Ron' would sound like a verbal attack. His body language was almost constantly aggressive or defensive.

I worked with 'Ron' on the notion of finding, what I termed, his opposite. That is, the type of personality that is the extreme antithesis to his own, and its associated stance, actions, manners, etc. Through improvisation, 'Ron' learned to act in a non-aggressive manner. I set him challenges and tasks within the context of improvisation and asked him to find the points when he became aggressive. The work took place within a group context and the group lent support and advice to 'Ron' on how to change the traits which he felt were partly responsible for his offending history.

I also use this method for other types of offending behaviour. For example, an ex-offender whom I will refer to as 'Liam', felt his offences mainly stemmed from being led by others. His probation officer agreed that he was never the ringleader, but the follower who got caught or took the blame. He found it impossible, even in the safe environment of the drama group, to say no to friends. If a friend suggested a 'job' which was likely to cause his return to prison, he still could not say no. He suggested he was unable to 'let friends down'. I worked with 'Liam' for some months towards a personal challenge or goal.

This goal was for 'Liam' to learn to say no, to think of his children and his wife before his friends, to consider the seriousness of another conviction.

> I got so in to the drama. I was doing the project during the day and then trying to write stuff, scenes and that, at night. After a couple of weeks, I suddenly noticed that I hadn't done anything stupid. I'd been mixing with the Insight lot rather than my old friends and that kept me out of trouble. It's still keeping me out of trouble (Offender 5, 21.01.94, London).

Several participants stated that Drama Work dissected the steps leading up to an offence and made them realise that other choices were available. One of these participants said the work encouraged the application of thought to behaviour and that by thinking about his actions, he was able to alter them. Several participants who had undertaken the Scenes of Consequence exercise, stated that by learning to think through to the consequence of an action or actions, they were able to stop themselves from getting into trouble. One participant felt that when he was committing crime, he never thought about the consequence, only the action itself and that by completing the exercise and applying it to life, he was able to make alternative choices.

Another participant felt that learning new models of behaviour led directly to improved relationships with other people. He cited the case of another client in the group he had worked with who had initially presented a hard, closed, sometimes aggressive personality. After several months of Drama Work with Insight, the man began to show his vulnerability and revealed a less aggressive side. The work made him see that he had a choice as to how he could behave and gave him the confidence to try a new role, far more suited to his true nature.

One participant felt that drama had replaced his need for criminality entirely:

> It's like my life has changed so much, I've got the drama class every week and the projects when they happen. I write my own scenes and plays and stuff. I don't need to go out and rob someone anymore. Money isn't important in the way it was then. I've got some really good friends in the group and we all keep each other on the straight (Offender 14, 06.02.94, London).

Some participants said that in order to act, to play a part, they had to uncover different facets of themselves and draw on personal experience. By revealing these previously hidden elements of themselves, the participants felt that they got to know themselves and each other better.

Role-play and victim impact sessions made participants recall and reflect upon times when they had been victims and how their behaviour had been influenced by victimisation. Through workshops exploring the dynamic between victim and aggressor, one participant learned how the victim's behaviour can give the aggressor power. It made him realise how his perception of being a victim of his circumstances had led him to create situations resulting in offending behaviour. That he was giving in to instincts rather than making choices. He felt Drama Work had helped him to assess his actions. By stopping and thinking about his instinctive actions he was able to make choices.

Many participants said that once they recognised self-defeating behaviour they were able to deal with it and choose not to be a victim. Recognition of self-defeating behaviours had occurred as participants observed how people reacted differently to the roles they played, depending upon the role. Some of the Insight participants had played status games within Drama Workshops

and felt that they were treated very differently depending upon the status they had acted out.

> When I had a high status card, people looked up to me, I had power. It made me feel good and I realised you don't need a pack of cards to play that game (Offender 22, 12.02.94, London).

Some participants said they had felt power when they committed crimes and that they had not realised there were other ways to feel power. Drama Work had increased their confidence and in turn their power within situations. Power over people did not have to mean hurting people but rather that it meant being in control of difficult or testing situations.

Increased self-confidence and self-esteem

With only one exception, the participants stated that their self-confidence had been boosted by Drama Work. All Insight participants and 24 of the other 40 participants said a sense of self-worth and self-confidence had been achieved through Drama Work. One participant stated he had always been nervous to speak up for himself or to talk in front of others but that Drama Work had removed the fear and made him feel more comfortable about meeting people or talking in groups.

> Since I've been doing drama, I feel a lot better about myself, more confident. When I was at school I'd never speak up in class, it was the same in prison if we had to talk about things in groups. But I can do it now. I'm not scared to say what I think and I feel like I can communicate better (Offender 23, 12.02.94, London).

Several participants discussed the fact that they were able to articulate feelings that had previously confused them and that they had been unable to talk about. Drama Work had provided a release and a means of getting internal feelings out and

articulating these feelings in a satisfactory way that was understood by others.

> Before I did drama, I felt like there was all this stuff inside me that wasn't coming out. Now I can put everything into drama and it feels really good. I feel a lot more confident, like I can have good ideas and people listen. When we do something, like in little scenes, that was my idea, and people laugh because they find it funny or what ever I feel really proud (Offender 2, 21.01.94, London).

One participant said she no longer felt the need to seek approval from others. One of the factors in her offending was that she was easily led by others but she felt Drama Work had given her the ability to take responsibility for her own choices. Several other participants suggested that Drama Work had increased their sense of responsibility for their own actions and that this was difficult to accept but beneficial in the long-term.

Better communication skills

37 of the participants felt their communication skills had improved considerably through drama. They felt able to speak up for themselves without provoking argument or aggression from others. They felt able to communicate their ideas and feeling more effectively and with a greater sense of clarity.

> If I wanted something from someone I used to just demand it I suppose. Now I know how to get what I want without a confrontation and if I don't get it, I know that's OK, too (Offender 8, 15.01.94).

Learning simple communication skills such as making and holding eye contact was seen as positive and many of the participants felt more able to handle stressful situations such as job interviews. Some of the participants stated that job interviews were very difficult due to their criminal record and that

they felt they were unlikely to get the job because of the record. Drama Work had made them feel more able to deal with the situation.

> I went for a job interview about two weeks after the project and I felt really good about myself. Usually I wouldn't know what to say and I'd just think, 'what's the point? I've got a record, I won't get it.' But I didn't think like that. I was really honest with the bloke doing the interview and I felt like I got my point across. I must have because I got the job (Offender 3, 21.01.94, London).

Several participants felt that in situations such as job interviews, the interviewer automatically judged them because of their time in prison. While this may have previously lead to feelings of a lack of self-worth, drama had given them the skills to combat these feelings and approach the interview positively.

> I'd think, 'what's the point in going for the interview, they'll think I'm an ex-con who can't be trusted and wouldn't be any good anyway.' After I finished the drama course my attitude changed. I thought I am worth a lot more than that. I may be an ex-con but I can still do a good job and work hard, so I approached interviews with a new confidence. I went in and didn't make excuses. I was really honest and said what I thought and felt without feeling scared or stupid or whatever. Drama made me like myself a lot more I think and that's really important (Offender 32, 16.02.94).

Several other participants discussed feelings of 'liking themselves' as a result of Drama Work, where previously they had feelings ranging from being disappointed with themselves to a deep sense of self-loathing. Drama appeared to raise the self-confidence of the participants quite considerably and altered and indeed, improved their feelings about how they saw themselves.

Higher levels of concentration

12 of the participants mentioned improved levels of concentration after attending drama classes. One participant suggested that by concentrating on something he enjoyed, such as drama, for a long period of time, he felt more able to concentrate on areas he did not enjoy so much, such as his therapy sessions or anger management classes. Another participant suggested that he had never concentrated on one thing for so long and that by developing a piece of theatre over a period of weeks he learned how valuable the art of concentration was. He felt that, over the weeks, his role within the piece developed and grew and that perhaps if he concentrated on other areas of his life in a similar fashion they too may prosper. The participant mentioned that he had always wanted to take English A' Level but had felt it would be impossible for him to concentrate on academic work at that level over a period of two years. He did not feel he could commit to a course for that period of time. Following his year of Drama Work, he felt that his concentration skills had improved to such an extent that he decided to embark on his A' Level English course through evening classes. He was pleased to report to me in 1999 that he had achieved a pass at grade C. He attributed his success directly to his experience of Drama Work.

Other participants discussed the nature of the work being relevant to their levels of concentration. They said that because the work was interesting, they did not get bored and were able to concentrate. They felt that if they had to listen to a person talking about another subject or get involved in some other sort of class they would not be able to concentrate so effectively.

> I used to get bored really quickly, like when a teacher was talking at school, but in drama class I never get bored (Offender 17, 06.02.94, London).

Alleviated boredom, channel for creativity and self-expression

36 of the participants said they had discovered a means for channelling creativity through Drama Work and associated arts based projects they had attended as a result of Drama Work. 32 stated that taking part in drama-based projects had alleviated boredom and that they recognised that boredom had some part to play in their offending history.

> I never knew what I wanted to do, I just drifted from one stupid job to another, getting sacked because I hated it. When I'm acting it feels really right. I get a massive buzz out of it, a bigger buzz than doing crime. I never thought of myself as artistic but I am. I'm good at drama and I can put all the pain from my past into it and turn it into something good (Offender 6, 15.01.94, London).

Some of the participants stated that boredom was alleviated because a channel for creativity had been uncovered through drama. Five participants had entered into higher education after completing drama courses and felt that the Drama Work was directly responsible for this.

> After I did the drama I decided to go to college, get a degree. If you'd told me ten years ago I'd be doing anything creative I'd have laughed, but now I am and I'm really good at it (Offender 2, 21.01.94, London).

Other participants found new creative paths as writers or actors. Two continued their interests in drama and acting by pursuing careers as actors. Both were successful, one securing an agent and both securing theatrical and television acting work. A third participant began to write plays and is currently completing an autobiographical novel.

Out of the eight participants who pursued alternative careers or further education none have re-offended within the six-year period of this research.

Made new friends who were supportive

Fourteen of the participants stated they had made new friends through the drama projects they had taken part in. Several participants mentioned the need to make new friends who had also stopped offending as these people would understand their problems and pressures. They stated that the drama projects had been their only means of meeting new people in the same sort of situation as they themselves were in.

As several of the participants were battling with drug or alcohol dependency, working alongside people with similar goals was seen as helpful. They felt they were able to lend support to each other and that through mutual support, friendships grew.

Participants attending compulsory programmes did not mention this factor at all. This may have been due to the fact that compulsory programmes were viewed in a very negative way, therefore they would not be in the frame of mind to 'make friends'. On voluntary projects the participants would be more likely to attempt to make friends because they wanted to be part of the group. Had they not wanted to be part of the group they could simply stop attending where as for compulsory programmes, non-attendance could result in a prison sentence.

Many participants discussed having to leave old friends behind if they wanted to stop offending.

> I don't see any of the people I used to call friends, the one's I did crime with. I've got a lot of new friends now, people I met at Insight. They understand me because they've got a criminal past and they're doing what I'm doing, leaving it behind (Offender 15, 06.02.94, London).

Several participants found that their new friends, met through Drama Workshops, enabled them to discard and keep away from old friends who may encourage them back in to a life of crime. The majority of the participants felt that old friends were a central factor in re-offending. There were several mentions of previous intentions to 'go straight' which were disrupted by re-association with old colleagues.

> If I hung out with my old mates from where I grew up, I'd be back on smack (heroin) in a matter of days and out robbing houses the second my money ran out. The mates I've made here (Insight Arts Trust) don't do drugs and they don't go out drumming (burgling). We all support each other and that way we stay firmly on the straight and narrow. I bumped in to one of my old mates and he was winding me up, saying I'd lost my bottle. I went home and I felt really down. I called up one of my new friends from Insight and I told him about it. We talked it through and he made me see that we are the one's who are doing something difficult and it's them that have lost their bottle. He made me look at the fact that I've been straight for over a year and that's worth a lot. There's no point chucking that away and ending up back on smack (heroin) and then back inside (prison). I want more than that. (Offender 6, 15.01.94, London).

Another participant said:

> If I get angry or pissed off about something I go for a drink with one of my mates from Insight. They know where I'm coming from and I know they won't get me back in trouble. It's all about changing your life at Insight, making new friends, getting new skills. I've made better friends here (at Insight Arts Trust) than I ever did before (Offender 16, 07.02.94, London).

Summary of perceived benefits

The research data gathered has demonstrated that Drama Work improves the understanding of the individual and of others. Through learning about one's own behaviour, it is possible to understand why one commits offences. In the same way, it is then possible to have a better understanding of why other people behave in the way that they do. Self-confidence and self-esteem were raised by attending drama sessions and the participants began to feel better about themselves. Communication skills were improved and participants felt able to communicate their feelings with improved clarity. Levels of concentration were raised and participants felt they were able to concentrate for longer periods of time without getting bored, in some cases on other subjects as well as drama.

Drama Work helped to alleviate boredom, which was cited as a reason for individuals committing offences. A channel for creativity and self-expression was provided often leading new career paths or further education. Participants discovered a creative side to themselves which they had previously thought to be absent or had not thought about at all. New friends were made who supported the participants through their attempt to change their criminal lifestyle and leave it behind them. New friends were stated as an important component in the quest for change as old friends were cited as a bad influence, encouraging criminal activity and lapses in to old patterns of behaviour including drug or alcohol addiction and criminality.

Use of Drama Work

For who is Drama Work suitable?

36 of the participants said that Drama Work is suitable for all ex-offenders providing attendance was voluntary and 4 said they did not know. Of the 36 who felt it was suitable for all ex-offenders, 7 suggested it should not be available to sex offenders. When questioned further about this, they did not feel it was because it would not be suitable but that sex offenders should not be allowed the privilege of Drama Work. These feelings appeared to be based on prison lore, which denotes a deep resentment and hatred for sex offenders. When I suggested that perhaps sex offenders could work in a group specifically for sex offenders, separate from other ex-offenders, 6 of the 7 agreed that in that situation it might be suitable for sex offenders too.

Research by Dix (1996) suggests that Drama Work could be used to address a variety of offending:

> Drama Work's benefits and versatility indicate it could be very effective in addressing a variety of offending. I would also suggest that while drama as a creative art form is usually associated with recreation, *drama work* is a demanding and rigorous intervention (Dix, 1996:61)

24 respondents suggested Drama Work was best used with people who had difficulties in communicating effectively and they agreed that lots of ex-offenders have this problem.

> I wish we'd had drama in prison. You get so bored and drama would have given you something to think about in your cell at night and something to do in the day. Also, there's a lot of people in there (prison) who could do with

> some lessons in communication (Offender 12, 05.02.94, London).

30 felt that Drama Work should be used to help offenders combat their anger and violent impulses. They stated that drama based anger management had been effective in helping them to manage their own aggressive feelings and that this may well benefit other offenders, particularly those convicted of violent offences.

> I think it's (Drama Work) best for people who aren't very good at communicating, people who are violent and aggressive. You learn other ways to be (Offender 13, 05.03.94, London).

> Drama anger management classes are really good. They help you practise controlling your anger. The role play stuff is really good. It helped me to understand my anger and to learn how to manage it. If you don't then you end up in stupid fights over nothing and that can land you in prison. I was inside with a bloke who had killed someone in a pub fight. He said it happened out of no-where. Someone said something about him and he just exploded. He's doing life for killing a man he didn't even know. If you've got a lot of anger in you then you could end up in that situation just as easily as he did. It could have been me. Drama anger management classes could help a lot of people. I think they should be available in prison as well as for probation clients. I wish I'd had that sort of thing in prison. (Offender 19, 07.03.94, London).

Several participants suggested that drama-based anger management courses would be a suitable alternative to prison sentences for minor violent offences. Two suggested that such courses should be compulsory in prison for habitual violent offenders even though they did not feel compulsory courses were a good idea as a rule.

Conditions for Drama Work to be effective

Other than the two participants that made concessions for habitual violent offenders, all participants agreed that Drama Work should be voluntary and in no case be part of a compulsory order. They also stated that participants should feel comfortable and able to trust the other group members and the Drama Worker facilitating the project. Several participants suggested that wider information be made available through probation services and hostel services in order to encourage people to attend voluntarily.

> It's got to be a supportive environment. If you don't feel all right about the people you're doing it (drama) with then it won't work. We had this drama thing in prison and we had to talk about our crimes. The group were only there for two days and after that you're back on the wing with everyone knowing your business. You can't do that. It makes you feel really vulnerable, like everyone knows. That stuff doesn't work, no way. At Insight, you don't have to talk about stuff you don't want to and if you do say things about your past everyone's really understanding. You don't get shit about it (Offender 35, 15.03.94, London).

Two participants suggested that groups should be made up of ex-offenders with similar offending histories. It was proposed that perhaps the courses could be modified to suit the different types of offences. One of the participants stated:

> At the drama course I did, we'd all done different things. There was some people who'd done time for drug dealing or possession, others for theft, some for GBH, some for car crime. That's a lot of ground to cover. If we'd all been in for drugs, say, then we could have looked at why we took drugs, what we did to fund our habits, what drugs meant to us, etc. Then we could have worked just on that. There could have been another course for the people doing time for GBH, and so on (Inmate 5, 20.03.94, HMP Risley).

While this may appear logical, the majority of offenders I have met over the years have committed a range of offences. The offender addicted to heroin may steal to feed the habit. A burglar may be disturbed and attack the homeowner committing GBH. Therefore I feel it important that a course deals with a range of offences. While an offender may have been convicted of one offence, he may have a history including many other undetected offences. This said, the courses could be categorised to some extent: for example, a course specifically for sex offenders because this is such a specific area, which differs from other crimes dramatically. A course that employs Drama Work techniques in order to address anger management specifically aimed at violent offenders may be appropriate. However, I do feel courses that encompass and address a wide range of offences can be equally relevant and effective. Part of the process is learning from other offender's histories, experiences and offences. The wider the range of experience, the broader the learning process.

Summary of use of Drama Work

From the research data gathered, it is clear that ex-offenders do not consider compulsory programmes as appropriate and that drama projects should only be run on a voluntary basis. This is problematic in a prison context. While the majority of prison projects are not compulsory and inmates are meant to be given a choice regarding attendance, this is not always the case. The problem is not that inmates are forced to attend but rather that choices are not always given. As I have previously discussed, in some prisons inmates are sent to drama sessions being run by outside groups without having volunteered to attend. Many are told to attend to make up numbers or because information has not been given out to the whole prison population. Poor

organisation on the part of the prison is often the fault. As I discussed in relation to the Insight residency at HMYOI Norwich, men were directed to the classroom without being told what the residency involved. Therefore, they had not made an informed choice. In 1994, as part of the Insight team I took a performance to HMP Brixton. The audience were not made up of interested offenders from the entire population of the prison as promised, but instead were made up of offenders housed in the hospital wing. The majority were under the influence of such heavy medication that the performance was of little value to them.

It is my recommendation that when a group are conducting Drama Workshops or residencies in prison, the inmates be properly informed about what the sessions involve so that they are able to make an informed choice regarding attendance. If inmates are forced to attend a session they are inevitably resentful and unwilling to take part. I would contend that it is very difficult to achieve any change in behaviour or indeed run a successful drama session if the inmates do not want to be there. They will be unwilling to take part and unwilling to communicate, both of which are prerequisites for Drama Work.

The difficulty is in ensuring the inmates have attended voluntarily. Outside groups rely on the education officer, director of regimes or other organising party to ensure this is the case. Sadly, the very nature of prison often means that those who would most benefit are unable to attend. Visits often interrupt daytime workshops. Prisoners may be confined to their cells or put in to the punishment block if they have misbehaved. These prisoners will automatically be left out of any selection process. As I have already mentioned, it is generally the inmates who attend education that get the benefit of performances and work shops by outside companies. These inmates are already

benefiting from education, their eyes have already been opened to alternative choices. It is the inmates that have not had the privilege of discovering the education department who are most in need of diversion or alternative activity. Yet it is these inmates who are most often neglected and left out of such visits.

The only way to combat these problems is to make the organising party aware. This is not an easy task. Chris Johnston from Insight Arts Trust always ensures that he discusses these very issues with the organiser, yet there are still situations like the HMYOI Norwich residency and the HMP Brixton performance. Often an organiser's wishes are undermined by the prison officers responsible for collecting and delivering the inmates. While there are prison officers who are supportive of drama-based interventions, there are others who clearly are not. One prison officer I spoke to at HMP Brixton, who wished to remain anonymous, said:

> A lot of do-gooder types seem to forget, these men are here because they have committed very serious crimes. They are here to be punished, not to have a good time (Prison Officer 1, 16.07.96, London).

Some prison officers see prison solely as a punishment, not as a venue where rehabilitation should take place. They may feel that drama is a treat, a pleasurable pastime and not a serious intervention. Therefore, in feeling that the inmates do not deserve such a luxury, they may choose to disrupt their chances of attending. I would recommend that outside companies liase at length with organisers and try their hardest to reinforce the necessity of the inmates attending through choice. Sadly, unless prison officers and education staff fully understand and appreciate the value of drama, then problems like these will continue to disrupt the work.

In this chapter I have explained my findings in detail using examples taken from my own work. The research revealed that the study group found Drama Work gave them an improved understanding of their own behaviour as well as that of others. The group felt that Drama Work equipped them with choices and alternative modes of behaviour, increased their self-confidence and self-esteem, enhanced communication skills and increased levels of concentration. Furthermore, the workshops alleviated boredom, enhanced and provided a channel for creativity and self-expression and led the clients to make new friends who understood their situation and were supportive. As the same phenomena was under observation, it is perhaps unsurprising that the research conducted by Peaker and Vincent (1989, 1990, 1992) and Dix (1996) exposed similar results (although it should be noted that the group studied by Dix provided a very small sample).

This research has detailed who Drama Work may be suitable for and the conditions under which programmes would be effective. Dix (1996) also noted that Drama Work would only be effective when attended on a voluntary basis and conducted by an experienced Drama Worker with adequate training. It is important to consider Dix's findings. Firstly, because there are no other comprehensive studies on the subject prior to this research, and also because Dix is approaching Drama Work from a sociological perspective, as a social worker, an outsider observing a phenomena, a different perspective and viewpoint to my own. It could be argued that the consistencies in our findings, in respect of our different perspectives, strengthen the argument that Drama Work is clearly of benefit to offenders. [1]

[1] The offenders and the prison officer who are quoted in this chapter will remain anonymous for ethical reasons. Their names and details are held on file. For the purpose of the research they are numbered Offender 1-40 and Prison Officer 1-5. The raw data in the form of grouped responses can be found in Appendix 12 and sample transcripts of the interviews, selected at random can be found in Appendix 7.

CHAPTER SIX: CONTRIBUTION

My work with ex-offenders

In this chapter I shall attempt to describe the method of work I have developed. This method draws on many of the key techniques used within Drama Work, Dramatherapy and Psychodrama. It draws on the valuable lessons I have learned during the process of research. The most considerable influence upon this work must be credited to Chris Johnston and Insight Arts Trust. I have considered the techniques used in Great Britain by other practitioners of Drama Work with offenders. I have also looked at the key techniques used by Geese Theatre Company USA and the work of European theatre in prison companies.

The technique I have developed has been put into practice through my work with Insight Arts Trust and independent work as a freelance Drama Worker. When I discuss the Insight Team I am referring to Chris Johnston, Richmond Trew and myself working for Insight Arts Trust. When I discuss the 'Wrong Place, Wrong Time' project I am referring to the performance and workshop/residency programme, 'The Art Of Being In The Wrong Place At The Wrong Time'.

Drama Workshops and Residencies

In the process of this research I have discovered the importance of being trusted by the clients. Trust is perhaps the most important component to the work. It is, as I have previously detailed, incredibly difficult to gain the trust of prisoners and probation clients. The Drama Worker must overcome the notion of the 'do-gooder', the role of the teacher and completely disassociate from the role of the warder or prison officer while also being trusted by these parties. In order to do this I have tried many different methods. One has worked effectively above all others and yet it is the most problematic. It is to work alongside a fellow Drama Worker who is also an ex-offender.[1]

When the group of offenders discover that the Drama Worker is in fact an ex-offender, a number of things happen. There is an instant acceptance of the Drama Worker/ex-offender and therefore anyone he or she associates with or works alongside, resulting in the trust of the fellow Drama Worker. There is an admiration for the new path the Drama Worker/ex-offender has taken. On discovery of the true identity of my fellow Drama Worker at HMP Norwich, one of the prisoners stated:

> I couldn't believe it. He was brilliant on stage, an excellent actor, and he did some good stuff in the workshop. When I found out he'd done time I couldn't believe it, that he'd gone from a place like this and now he's getting paid for that. It's brilliant. It made me think I could do it too (Inmate 6, 24.08.98. HMP Norwich).

In gaining the trust of the prisoner or probation client, it is possible to teach more effectively and to gain deeper insights into the effectiveness of the work. The Drama Worker/ex-offender is on hand to disperse any problems. They understand the prison system from the perspective of the prisoner, they comprehend the prison language or jargon, they relate to the pressures placed upon the prisoner and, most importantly, they

realise the potentiality of change, the ultimate capability to change patterns of behaviour, belief systems, prison and criminal codes. They realise the necessity of change and can discuss their experience openly. They can prove to the prisoner beyond a doubt that change is possible and that artistic expression, drama and theatre can provide an opportunity for change.

The ex-offender/Drama Worker must of course be trained in all aspects of working with offenders through an approved training programme such as the one run by Insight Arts Trust. Clean Break has also devised a programme for training ex-offenders (which had only recently started at the completion of this research, and so is impossible to evaluate as yet), but this should be recognised as an important step. There are problems and contentions with this method. When working in prison there are strict codes regarding who can and cannot enter the prison. All prisons have different policies and it is the decision of the individual prison governor. The majority of prisons in the United Kingdom are prepared to allow entry to an ex-offender providing his or her offences are not drug or weapon-related. However, the possibility of refusal is always present and the ex-offender/Drama Worker will require work references and a suitably long period of non-offending behaviour prior to the commencement of the work.

The primary method or technique, which can be employed on short or long-term residencies falls into two sections.

1.) A performance which highlights and discusses themes raised by offending behaviour.
2.) A workshop or residency which uses the performance as a starting point for discussion and exploration of the notion of change, through Drama Work.

While a performance and related workshop is not a new idea, it is the way the project is managed that is; the use of ex-offenders in the research process, cast and as Drama Workers and the way their role is used alongside the content of the play and workshop. In order to explain the technique clearly, I will use the example of 'The Art of Being in the Wrong Place at the Wrong Time' programme. The play was devised by Chris Johnston, Richmond Trew and myself with assistance from Saul Hewish and the final script was written by Chris Johnston. Prior to the start of the devising sessions, a group of seven ex-offenders, some on probation, workshopped the ideas and themes of the play. These ideas were then used as a starting point for the devising process, which lasted approximately three months. Following the devising process, Chris Johnston then developed and wrote the final script. A brief story-line is given below.

<u>The Art of Being in the Wrong Place at the Wrong Time</u>

A film/play exploring offending behaviour, performed by three Drama Workers and one ex-offender/Drama Worker, with attached workshops and residencies. Film is used to show off-stage action and the thoughts and memories of the central character.

The play starts with a car crash between ***Alex*** *(a con artist) and* ***Saskia*** *(a woman who in the main part lives by the law, but is not adverse to small-time scams). Alex attempts to con his way out of his responsibility for the crash. Saskia demands money and a meeting is set up. Alex and Saskia meet in a bar. There is a strong attraction between them but Alex feels aggrieved that Saskia has taken money from him and sets out to get the money back. He arranges that Saskia will take part in a 'clipping' scam,*

whereby she will pose as a prostitute and meet a punter. Alex will burst in as the jealous boyfriend and pull Saskia and the money out.

Saskia meets the punter at a cheap hotel and begins the scam. Alex does not show up and the punter claims to be a police officer, giving Saskia a choice between giving him money or sex. Action takes place off-stage unseen by the audience and it is unclear whether or not the punter assaults her. Alex listens outside the door. The use of film allows the audience to see Alex approach the room and listen.

Saskia is marched to a cashpoint by the punter and she kicks him hard, running away. She is very shaken and upset and goes to find Alex to see what went wrong. She sees Alex in his flat with the punter who is in fact his crime partner **Clive**. *Alex is angry at Clive because of his violence and aggression towards Saskia. He tells Clive that he was just supposed to get the money, not hurt her. Clive cannot see how he has hurt Saskia, after all, he didn't hit her or rape her. Alex is angry but forgets the anger in order to discuss the scam he and Clive are working. When Clive leaves Saskia enters the flat and confronts Alex. She does not tell Alex whether or not Clive raped her. She leaves promising vengeance.*

Alex meets Clive to fulfil the scam but is still angry and does not comply with the plan. The two men have arranged to meet a music investor and Alex is to pose as a Jamaican reggae star Banton. Alex reluctantly dresses as Banton. The film shows his tortured mind: Clive hurting Saskia; his mother being beaten by his stepfather. He meets Clive and the investor but does not behave to plan. The investor becomes suspicious and a struggle ensues. Clive shouts for Alex to grab the money, the fifty grand, but he walks away. Clive is caught and arrested.

There is an interval at this point and Act 2 opens with Alex and Saskia in bed. They are now living together. Several years have passed and the film shows Clive leaving prison. He arrives at the flat while Saskia is sleeping, demanding that Alex puts him up. Alex 'owes' him. He also wants the money, his cut. Saskia is woken by the shouting and attempts to throw Clive out. Alex agrees to meet him later.

Clive waits for Alex at the Bookmaker's shop. There he insinuates to Alex that Saskia offered him sex in the hotel room. Alex is angry but knows that by criminal code he owes Clive. He arranges a place for Clive to stay and tells him to wait a few days before coming round. Alex and Saskia are seen on the film having a good time, going out to a park, being together, going shopping and shoplifting. They return to the flat and prepare a meal.

Clive arrives bleeding from a head wound. Saskia is angry but her caring nature leads her to clean him up and she tells him he can stay one night and then must get out of their lives forever. Clive is plotting new scams, a break-in to a chemical factory in order to obtain the necessary chemicals to manufacture ecstasy. He wants Alex to come in.

When Saskia returns from work the next day, Clive is still there. He is drunk. He begins to tell Saskia things about Alex she doesn't know. He shows her he has keys to the flat and to Alex's secret cupboards. She snatches the keys and opens the cupboard. She finds a gun. She holds it out towards Clive and confronts him with what he did to her in the hotel room. He begins to cry, to say that he is going to kill himself, that no one cares about him, not even Alex. Alex returns furious that the gun is out. Police arrive looking for Clive. All three are scared.

Clive leaves and Saskia and Alex lie to the police about his presence.

Saskia threatens Alex with leaving unless Clive disappears for good. Alex has been trying to start his own business but his loan has been refused. He meets Clive to discuss the job. The plan is set. Saskia arrives in Alex's place to do the job. The skylight on the roof of the chemical factory is locked. They try to open it and Alex arrives. He tells Saskia that he has changed his mind, that they should leave. She tries to push Clive from the building and a confrontation ensues. Clive discloses that Alex was at the hotel room. Saskia is hurt and angry. Clive decides to try and obtain entry through a window by climbing down onto a ledge. Alex tries to stop him. Clive falls from the building and the film shows him lying on the ground.

Saskia and Alex are in their flat. Saskia has packed her things and is leaving. She tells Alex that all she ever asked for was truth and he lied too often. She leaves.

On the film we see Saskia hitch-hiking, Alex opening his new business looking happy. Then we see a grave. A hand comes into shot and removes the flowers. The camera pans out to reveal Clive on crutches, holding the flowers, leaving the graveyard.

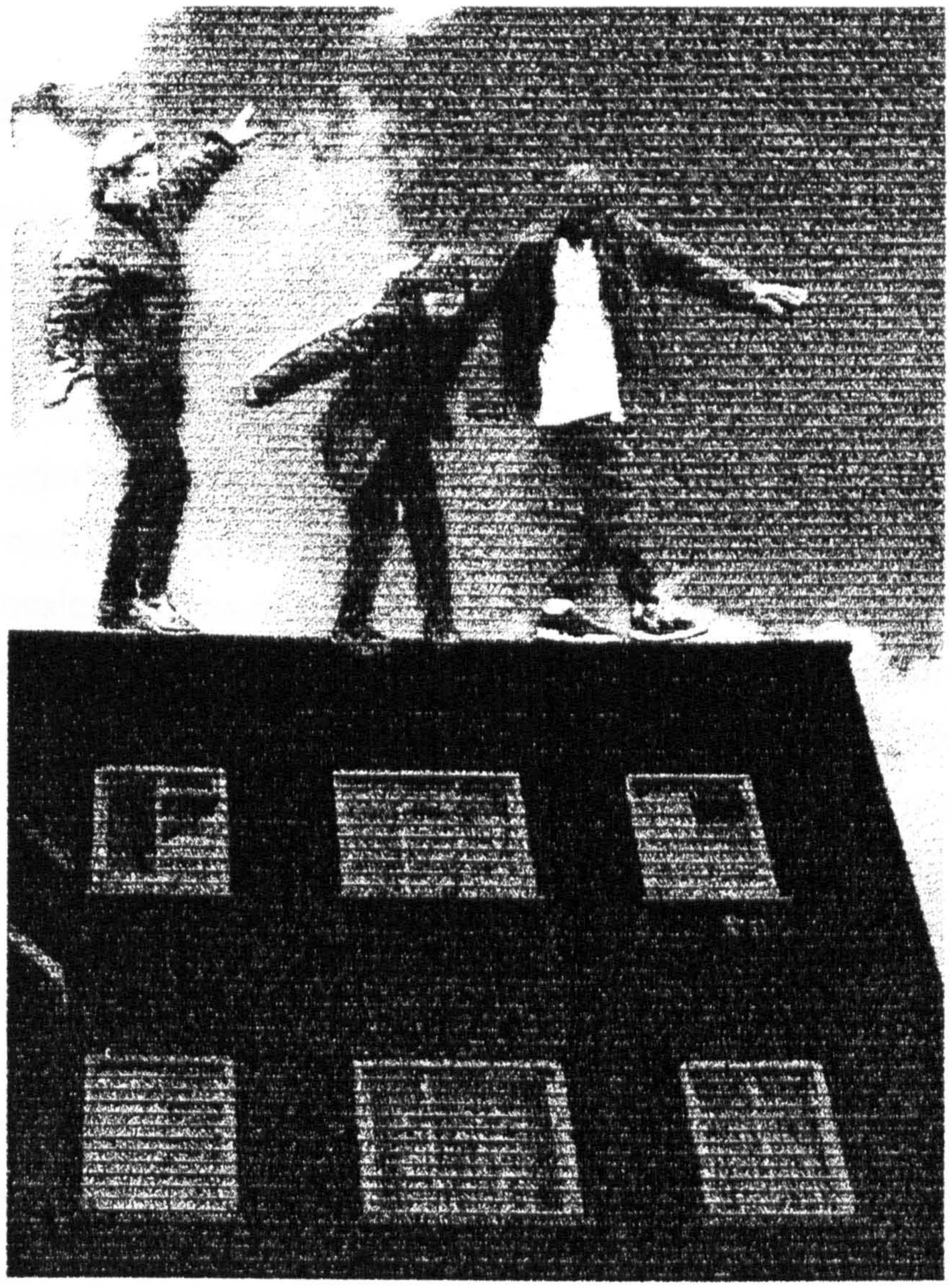

Fig. 15: 'The Art of Being in the Wrong Place at the Wrong Time', publicity photograph

The performance is full of action and the script is written in criminal jargon in order to engage the audience of prisoners. There is an element of humour throughout aimed specifically at the audience. It is essential that the play is constructed, as 'Wrong Place, Wrong Time' has been, specifically for a prison audience. The Drama Workers must be fully versed with prison lore and language. Having ex-offenders in the cast and research process is obviously a huge help in this respect.

Workshop

Following the play a discussion and workshop explores the central themes:

1: Can women be trusted?

The criminal notion that women cannot be trusted and should be told nothing about criminal activity is explored and dissected. A discussion on how much women should be told is activated. Prisoners are forced to challenge their perceptions of women. Within the discussion we will turn the tables, for example asking the group whether or not they think they should be told about any previous criminal activity on the part of their girlfriend or wife. We may also pose the question: would you consider it all right for your partner to have secrets from you? What sorts of secrets are OK? Should your partner tell you everything about their past? These sorts of questions invariably provoke a response from the clients whereby they feel they should know everything about their partner's past and present and that there should be no secrets. From this point it is easy to make the client see the situation from a female perspective. We tackle myths regarding women's responses to police interrogation in order to make a client understand why a woman might 'grass' or give information against her partner, for example, in order to protect her child or family unit.

2: Does Alex 'owe' Clive?

Within criminal code, if one criminal partner serves a prison sentence and the other does not for a crime perpetrated together, then the second 'owes' the first. Proceeds from the crime should be retained and split. Accommodation should be offered. This notion is discussed and challenged with respect to

Alex and Clive. Has Clive waved his right to Alex's help by 'hurting' Saskia?

The reactions to this question varied depending on the age of the prisoners. In Young Offenders Institutions the reaction was predominantly that Clive was a sex offender because he had 'hurt' a woman and that this negated Alex's responsibility towards him. In adult prisons, the majority of prisoners felt that Alex should still stand by Clive, no matter what because Clive had 'done time' for Alex.

3: Do old friends stop an offender from changing?

All prisoners agreed that it is very difficult to change on release from prison because your friends expect you to be the same person. Different ways of combating this problem are explored including rehearsal for confrontation through improvisation. For example, a prisoner will be challenged in groups by other inmates pretending to be his group of friends. The prisoner attempting the exercise will try to find ways to tell his friends that he has changed and does not want to be involved in any future criminal activity. The prisoners pretending to be his friends will put as much pressure on him as possible. A Drama Worker will guide the improvisation, prompting and directing the group, in order to make the situation as real as possible.

4: How important are criminal codes?

Again, all prisoners agreed that criminal codes are central to the existence of criminals. Lists of the codes were made and questioned. Some of the codes follow:

- *If your mate does time for you then you owe him.*
- *Don't tell women anything.*
- *Women cannot be trusted, especially when you're inside (in prison).*
- *Don't mix with nonces (sex offenders).*

5: Is a stable partner important for change of criminal behaviour?

The notion that a 'good woman' was necessary in order to go straight surfaced at every prison the play toured. Many prisoners felt that if they did not have a wife or girlfriend there was no point in stopping criminal behaviour.

6: Victim Impact

In my research and during the time I have worked as a Drama Worker, I have noted that many offenders do not easily acknowledge victim impact. While companies like Geese directly challenge the impact on a victim of sexual abuse, rape or violence, I have discovered another level to victim impact, which is rarely acknowledged.

When a victim has not been 'hurt' physically, some offenders find it difficult to recognise that they have been hurt at all. (See example of regular Drama Workshop in Chapter Three, which deals with victim impact). One offender I have worked with over a five-year period described an offence to me in detail. The offence involved a bank robbery in the early 1960s. During the robbery a woman was tied up and a gun was held to her head. The offender in question did not recognise that he had hurt her in anyway at all. He did not recognise the emotional impact upon the victim as a form of 'hurt'. This is one of the areas Chris Johnston, Richmond Trew and myself decided to challenge within 'The Art of Being in the Wrong Place, Wrong Time'.

When Clive took money from Saskia in the hotel room, did he hurt her? While the scene was ambiguous to provoke discussion, it was made clear in the workshop that Saskia was treated roughly but not raped, assaulted or physically hurt. Saskia tells Alex in the scene following the hotel scam scene,

that Clive, the punter, hurt her. Clive does not recognise that he did hurt her when Alex challenges him about this.

In replaying the scene in the workshop, we were able to challenge this notion. The full scene is re-printed here to enable the reader to gain understanding of the text and the way the text is employed to promote discussion.

ACT ONE: SCENE FOUR: THE HOTEL ROOM

Video shows a hotel room wall. There is a door at the edge.
Clive enters, waits. After a moment there's a knock on the door.

Clive: Come in.

Saskia comes in.

Clive: Hullo.

Sas: Hi.

Clive: You are...

Sas: Rosie.

Clive: Hi. I'm George.

Sas: Hi, George. Where's the -

Clive: Bedroom? Next door. Done this before?

Sas: Loads of times.

Clive: Shame.

Sas: Listen, it's one hundred pounds for straight sex, or two hundred with extras.

Clive: Oh, well, of course, I think, everything really.

Sas: Payment up front if you don't mind.

Clive: I think we should see the merchandise first, don't you. Got to try before you buy.

Sas: No, sorry.

Clive: Don't you trust me?

Sas: Of course I trust you, George, a nice man like you, but I'd just feel a lot happier with the money first.

Clive: I'd be happier with the sex first.

Sas: Money - now.

Clive: You're still saying you don't trust me.

Film shows Alex in the corridor, then coming into the suite unobserved.

Sas: Come on, don't you think I'm worth it?

Clive: I do - but I want to see the proof.

Sas: All right - you just have a think about it - I'll sit down here and have a cigarette...

Clive: Here's fifty.

Sas: That's a bit better...

Clive: Let's see what I get for my money.

Sas: All in good time. You know what I think. I hear room service is very good. Let's order some.

Clive: As they say in Japan, first fuck then freebies.

Sas: I'm sure they do...

Clive: Come on then.

Sas: Well...

Clive: Come on! What's the matter? Not in the mood? Wrong time of the month? I have paid, you know. Well?

Sas: Nothing...

Clive: Nothing?

Sas: No, I just think you should pay the full amount up front. That's the rules. OK?

Clive: I don't want to.

Sas: ...Stop!

Clive: Why?

Sas: I've changed my mind. Let's - let's - let's talk.

Clive: Talk? Listen - if I want to talk I can talk to the

fucking wife, know what I mean?

Sas: Sorry, I can't -

Clive: Oh, fuck you. I'm fed up with this. All right, you've got a problem now, girl. You're nicked.

Clive shows her police I.d.

Sas: What?

Clive: You're nicked. I'm a copper.

Sas: Oh Christ. You're not.

Clive: I am.

Sas: Oh listen... look.... listen... I'm not really...Listen, I've never done anything like this before! You see I...Listen, you can't arrest me! I don't do this!

Clive: You don't do it! That's a good one. Tell that to the judge! Come on, I'm bored with this. I want your name and details. You're under arrest for soliciting. You may not say anything but anything you do say may be taken down and used in evidence. Do you understand?

Sas: I haven't done anything. I was forced to do it. It was a game!

Clive: Good - then explain the rules at the station.

Sas: Please, please, listen. You don't want people to know you go with prostitutes, do you? I mean surely there must be some way out of this?

Clive: When we go down the station, don't try to run away. That only makes it worse.

Sas: Listen, I'll do anything you want, just don't take me down there, please. Please, can't you let me off? I'll do anything you want. Please!

pause.

Clive: So you want me to forget all about it because this is your first time? But I'd have to go to the station empty-handed. I'd feel a failure.

Sas: No, you're not a failure, you're really not. Please.

Clive: All right. You've got three choices. One - we go down the station. Or two - you pay me a little something for me time. Or - three - we go next door and do the business we came for, all right?

Sas: I haven't any money!

Clive: In that case, it's option number three. I am disappointed.

Sas: Don't touch me...

Clive: Well, I might have to do just that. Move!

They go off into the bedroom. Alex comes in to the room they've just left. He tries to watch what is happening without being observed. The figures of Clive and Saskia pass across the doorway, on film. Clive and Saskia can just be seen. Then Alex's mother comes to the door, urging him to go away.

Mthr: Please, baby, go away now. Mummy's all right. Go.

Uncle: Who are you talking to? Janice! Come away from there!

Then he comes to the door.

Uncle: I told you before. Stay away. Quiet - remember.

He slams the door. These figures start to change into those of Alex's mother and her boyfriend. After a short while Clive and Saskia come back. As they do so, Alex leaves again.

Clive: All right, fine. We'll do it the other way. I want the money.

Saskia goes to her purse.

Sas: Fifty quid.

Clive: Fifty? No, a hundred and fifty.

Sas: I haven't got that!

Clive: Give it here!

Clive grabs the bag.

Clive: Oh look, our flexible friend. Let's take a little walk to the hole in the wall. And when we go out of here we want to look like we've got a loving relationship. Understand? You've probably never been in a loving relationship. I have. I know what's it like. It means you have to be affectionate with each other and not try to fucking run off. Understand?

Sas: All right! We'll walk.

Clive: Nice and cuddly. Let's go.

They go out.

FILM: CLIVE AND SASKIA WALKING DOWN THE STREET. THEY GET TO A BANK MACHINE. SASKIA KICKS CLIVE AND RUNS OFF. CUT TO: SASKIA WALKING INTO HER OWN FLAT. SHE LIES DOWN ON THE BED, CRYING. CUT TO: SITTING UP, SMOKING A CIGARETTE, COMPOSING HERSELF. CUT TO: SASKIA IN FRONT OF THE MIRROR, CHANGED INTO A DIFFERENT OUTFIT. SHE LEAVES. SEE HER WALKING DOWN AMHURST ROAD IN STOKE NEWINGTON.
(Johnston, 1997: 11-15)

Within the scene Saskia is clearly terrified of Clive. The impact of the events is shown in the video sequence in which the dishevelled Saskia is seen crying in her flat. Her anger becomes obvious as she composes herself, changes and leaves the flat in pursuit of revenge upon Alex. In playing the scene again and stating that Saskia was not physically attacked, the audience are asked if she was hurt.

The responses to this question varied but the majority of prison audiences did not think she was hurt. One of the discussions which was notated follows.

Prisoner: Saskia put herself up for it. She should have known what she was getting in to.

DI Girolamo: Alex had told her it was a simple clipping scam, she didn't know what Alex and Clive had planned.

Prisoner: Yeah but she took money off Alex, so she deserved it.

Di Girolamo: Did she deserve to get hurt?

Prisoner: You said he didn't rape her?

Di Girolamo: That's right.

Prisoner: So she didn't get hurt.

Di Girolamo: But she was obviously terrified.

Prisoner: But if he didn't touch her, you know.

Di Girolamo: After the scene she was crying. She was visibly upset. Don't you think she was hurt in some way?

Prisoner: No, not if he didn't touch her. [2]

The other prisoners agreed with this man that Saskia had not been hurt. We decided to play the following scene where Alex

questions Clive about his actions and Saskia challenges Alex. The scene is reprinted here for the reader's benefit.

SCENE FIVE: ALEX'S FLAT.
Music playing. Alex is wandering about in a distracted state, goes off. Clive comes in.

Clive: Don't you start on me, Alex. That mark was a blind terror. I'm sorry, mate. She didn't drain. I got nish. Look at that! It bloody hurts as well.

Alex: You got my money?

Clive: This is what I'm saying. Half a yard is all I got. What did I say on the phone? For this cabaret, Alex, you need a double act. We did a walk to the hole and she got away. I'm sorry. I'll bring the nails and the cross and you can nail me up.

Alex: Fifty quid. Is that it?

Clive: I don't know what happened. Maybe she didn't buy the i.d.

Alex: Did she spot any tell?

Clive: Not that I could see.

Alex: What did she say at the i.d.?

Clive: She freaked OK, but wouldn't give a name. I don't know. Maybe she thought no name, no comeback. So, you gonna spin the history on this one, Alex?.

Alex: I want to know what you were playing at in there.

Clive: Playing at?

Alex: That's right. What were you doing in there? Were you groping her? Did you fucking try it on?

Clive: Woah, woah, woah - slow down, man.

Alex: Did you try it on?

Clive: No!

Alex: You're a fucking liar.

Clive: Alex, man, that is not my style, I swear to God.

Alex: What did I say? I said 'she comes in, she asks for business, you say 'I'm a cop' - you show her the i.d. - you take the money. End of. Right?

Clive: That's what I did.

Alex: No... no... you did not. You took too long for that. Did you give her one, Clive? Did you?

Clive: What if I did?

Alex: That would be rape.

Clive: No. She would have been consenting. But I never did.
I never touched her. I never hurt her or hit her.

Alex: Why don't you just admit it - you forced her. You dirty bastard. Right?

Clive: Oh, for Christ's sake. What's your problem, Alex?
Listen - if I want to see a woman's ass going up and down I'll open my address book.

Alex: I saw you come out. She was terrified. It wasn't done cleanly, Clive. It made me question about how you operate around women, Clive, it made me think of the Kensington bird, the girl at Deptford -

Clive: So she was terrified? How else am I supposed to do it?

Alex: You wasn't supposed to get involved!

Clive: Who's involved here?

Alex: I said cleanly. No rough edges. No carrying on in the fucking bedroom!

Clive: OK, she was upset. I thought that was the idea. How else was I supposed to get the dosh, sell her the Big Issue? That's how it works, through the frighteners. Who gave me the copper i.d.? You did. I mean, what are you saying - that I - like - enjoy it? Yeah, it's a laugh. But that's irrelevant to the case, your honour. Who is this bird, Alex? And what about the bedroom? What is it? Did you come in?

Alex: Would it worry you if I had?

Clive: Did you? I thought I heard the door go. You've got a key.

Alex: I just had a few worries, OK?

Clive: Like?

Alex: I was just concerned she might recognise me again.

Clive: So you wanted to check up on me?

Alex: No, it's not like that. I just thought she might recognise me - I was gonna stop it but when I realised you was into the pitch, I...

Clive: Left again.

Alex: Right, right.

Clive: Who is this bird?

Alex: Nobody, Clive. She's nobody. Believe me, I was not spying on you, no.

Clive: Time, Alex?

Alex: Six fifteen.

Clive: Got the man to sort.

Saskia is seen on the film, looking through the window. The men don't notice.

Clive: If you see her again - say you got a pull. If she sees me again, I'm a cop.

Alex: Yeah, yeah, you're right.

Clive: Simple.

Alex: If she was just under pressure - then OK.

Clive: She put herself up for it.

Alex: Exactly. She bought into it.

Pause.

Clive: Know what I reckon, that bird is -

Alex: - history. Who wants -

Clive - to read a book twice?

Alex: No one.

Clive - until we run out of books. Do us a favour: forget , about this bird. Don't think -

Alex: - drink.

Clive: If you think too much, you disappear. Right?

Alex: Right.

Clive: She give me some, you know.

Alex: Did she now?

Clive: That's why I let her off the money. Oh, come on, Alex, lighten up! She's only a slapper and a mark, for all.

(Johnston, 1997: 16-19)

After the scene had been played I asked the audience again if Saskia had been hurt. They still said she had not.

Di Girolamo: But Alex thinks she has been hurt?

Prisoner 1: Yeah, but that's only because he thinks Clive raped her.

Prisoner 2: And because he fancies her.

Di Girolamo: So, if she was just a 'mark', Alex wouldn't be bothered?

Prisoner 1: No. of course he wouldn't.

Prisoner 3: She knows where he lives, that's what the problem is.

DI Girolamo: So if he would never see her again there wouldn't be a problem?

Prisoner 3: That's right.

Prisoner 4: Alex cares because of his mum, I mean he saw his mum get beaten up when he was a kid so he doesn't like to see women knocked about.

Prisoner 1: But he didn't knock her about, they were just shouting and that.

Di Girolamo: But she was scared of him.

Prisoner 3: 'Course she was, but like Clive said, that's how you do it.

Di Girolamo: That's how you deal with the situation?

Prisoner 3: Yeah.

Di Girolamo: Do you think that in being scared, she was hurt.

Prisoner 1: No, not really.

Prisoner 3: No, she wasn't hurt.[3]

None of the group would acknowledge Saskia's pain or hurt so we decided to play out the next section of the scene, where Saskia directly challenges Alex.

Saskia is heard, off.

Sas: Alex, open up, I want to talk to you.

Alex comes back in, quietly.

Sas: Alex, I know you're in there.

Alex goes out again. Saskia comes on followed by Alex.

Alex: What are you doing here? How did you find me? Listen, babe, you won't believe what happened. I had a pull from the cops! Oh, I was so worried about you! I didn't know how to contact! Are you OK? I swear I cannot walk down a street for some frustrated Mr. Plod trying to pull me in! They took me down the station, can you believe that? You know what I think? They were watching that hotel - for real. When I get back, you're gone.

Sas: I trusted you, Alex.

Alex: I know, I know...

Sas: Is this what you do? Is this how you make your living? Taking money from women?

Alex: I want you to tell me. Did that guy do anything to you?

Sas: Do you think I'm stupid? Impressionable?

Alex: This was a genuine bad luck situation.

Sas: Please don't make it worse.

Pause.

Alex: I want you to tell me what he did.

Sas: I've got a petrol can in my car. If you hadn't been in, I would have torched this place. But then I thought, maybe he's got some perfectly genuine reason why he didn't show up. You found out the guy was a cop and I was kind of - sacrificed. I could have understood that to a degree - you not wanting to get busted. So I set out to find out where you live. And as I was walking along... I saw him go in. You set me up. You set me up. For what? Because of the money? You were pissed 'cause I got money from you? Was that it?

Alex: What did you see?

Sas: I saw your fucking partner! Coming out!

Alex: Who? Who did you see? OK, OK. You're upset. I can appreciate that. You got yourself into something. It's not a romantic world out there. You know what? I was testing you. Seeing how you could handle it.

Sas: Handle it? Handle it? What, your friend trying to rape me?

pause.

Alex: He didn't do nothing like that and you know it.

Sas: How do you know what he did and what he didn't do?

Alex: All right, you give me your story.

She attacks him.

Alex: Woah, woah...

Sas: Don't fucking touch me!

Alex: Listen, if he messed around - it wasn't supposed to go like that!

Sas: No? How was it supposed to go like?

Alex: I just want to know if he hurt you?

Sas: What do you think? What do you think?

Pause.

Sas: I trusted you. Why did you do it?

Alex: Yeah, all right, I was pissed off about my money. You're OK. You're acting like someone burned your house and robbed you and beat you and -

Sas: You are one low-life scumbag.

Alex: No, I am not. Whatever he did - that was not me.

Sas: This is not finished, you know, Alex.

She goes to leave but Alex pulls her back

Alex: Saskia! All I want is a chance to explain. Is that too much to ask? Yeah. I was pissed off because you pulled a fast one over that car business. See what I'm saying? But - OK - I was out of line. I feel bad about it. I put my hand up, guilty. So, I'm going to give you your money back. Plus - on top - what you would have received.

She takes the money.

Sas: Because it's only about money, isn't it? It's got nothing to do with respect or trust or...

Alex: It shows I don't want any hard feelings.

Sas: You don't have a grudge against me? How very kind. Pinky is dirty, wipe her down with money, then she's clean again. ABC. Children's Television view of life.

Alex: All right. I know it's not about that but what else -

Sas: You do pick up fast.

Alex: It was a laugh. OK? Went wrong.

Sas: Who is this 'friend' of yours?

Alex: That guy is no friend of mine. Whatever he did – and you still haven't told me what he did - he was just supposed to - you know - take the money.

Sas: How long have you known him?

Alex: Not that long. A few months. What difference does it make?

Sas: You're lying.

Alex: Listen, I don't have to do this. I could walk away. Suddenly I'm on trial because I made a bad move. You wanted to move in another league, and you got a bit upset -

Sas: Months or years?

Alex: Oh, come on...

Video shows stills/or slow motion shots of Alex and Clive in the past, celebrating, running etc.

Alex: We've made a few moves together if you must know. But I tell you something - I'm dropping him as it happens. I am. I don't like the way he operates.

Sas: How many times you done this kind of thing?

Alex: Oh, what?

Sas: You always pick on women? Any jobs cooking now?

Alex: Listen, I just come out here to see if you were all right. You know, and to find out if...

Sas: If I'm going to the cops? Yeah, I might.

Alex: So did he...?

Sas: Oh, Jesus. What do you want me to do, write a report? What does it matter to you what he did?

Alex: I wouldn't want you to get hurt.

Sas: Well, I did. So what are you gonna do about it?

Alex: I don't know what I can do.

Sas: Are you gonna talk to him?

Alex: Obviously I'm gonna talk to him. What - you think I'm gonna let this pass?

Sas: If someone's broken my trust, it takes a long time to get it back. So I feel a little better if I know you're going to deal with him.

Alex: I'm gonna tell him if he tries that stuff again, he's dead meat. Believe.

Sas: No, you misunderstand. He just has done that. Look, if someone does you wrong, you want to get them back, right?

Alex: Right.

Sas: So now you have to pay him back for me. Because you agree with me that he did wrong. Right?

Alex: OK. But it's not that easy. What you want? You want me slice him up? Mash him up, what?

Saskia starts to walk off.

Sas: How you do it is your concern. And right now, I think the phrase is 'I know where you live'.

Alex: So you want to meet one wrong with another wrong? That's not my style! You hear me! Fuck you!

(Johnston, 1997: 20-24)

When we had finished playing the scene, the men were silent and I asked the question again. Had Saskia been hurt?

Prisoner 3: She says she was.

Prisoner 1: But she's just saying that.

Prisoner 3: She's really upset though.

Prisoner 1: Yeah, but she got herself into it.

Di Girolamo: Even if she did get herself into it, that isn't the question here. Was she hurt by Clive's actions?

Prisoner 3: I think she was, yeah.

Di Girolamo: So although she wasn't hurt physically, you can see she was hurt?

Prisoner 3: Yes.

Di Girolamo: Can anyone else see that? [4]

Ten of the 14 men in the workshop then acknowledged that they could see that Saskia had been hurt, though three of the ten felt it was her own fault and that she should not get involved in criminal activity without understanding the risks involved. In dissecting the scenes and discussing the themes raised, areas like victim impact are discussed more easily. In this respect, the play provides a vehicle to discuss and confront offending behaviour without directly challenging the offending history of the offenders present. While it is useful to challenge an individual's behaviour in a longer residency or when working with probation clients over a long period of time, I feel it is more useful to generalise when dealing with prison inmates in short workshops. The areas of offending behaviour that are challenged in the 'Wrong Place, Wrong Time' workshop, are areas found to be common to many offenders. Therefore, as many members of the audience as possible are able to draw lessons from the work and apply them to their own offending. Another way, the scenes from the play are used by the Insight team, to challenge offending behaviour, is through Forum Theatre.

Forum

Sections of the play are work-shopped using the forum techniques using the actors and the prisoners. The actors replay the scene in question asking the audience to watch the scene very carefully and think about the way the central character Alex behaves. The scene is played exactly as it was the first time the audience saw it, within the play.

ACT TWO. SCENE ONE

ALEX'S FLAT.
There is a table on stage with wood, prints, frames, etc,. on it. On screen, opening image of Alex and Saskia in bed. Alex gets up without disturbing Saskia. Alex comes on stage, goes to work at the table. Video image dissolves to scene of prison gates from the outside. Clive walks out of the prison gates. There's a series of short sequences of Clive travelling. Image returns to Saskia in bed. She gets up, walks on stage carrying two cups of tea. Video remains on empty bed.

Saskia: How's it going, babe?

Alex: Good.

Saskia: How many more years till you finish this one?

Alex: They only laugh who lack understanding. Believe and it will come to pass.

Saskia: How much is he paying you?

Alex: Thirty-two pounds and fifty pence. I know what you're thinking. But it's money in the bank. I have to prove I'm worth the loan, that I'm creditworthy.

Saskia: You? Creditworthy?

Alex: Yeah, a big leap of imagination, I know.

Saskia: I can't imagine you running your own business. Hey, maybe we can turn the basement of the shop into a club or something. Do our own club nights. Now that'd be interesting.

Alex: Talking of interesting work -

Saskia: I've got the day off, all right? I'm going back to bed. You can come if you like.

(She waits for a response)

Suit yourself, Mr. Boring. I remember when you used to be fun.

She goes. Video which has shown an empty bed, now shows Saskia getting back into it. After a short pause, there's a sound outside.

Alex: Who's that? That you, Sas?

Clive walks in.

Alex: Oh my God.

Clive: So where's the fucking welcome then? Where's the reception? The birds in skimpy nighties, the ten-gallon drum of Bollinger!

They meet.

Alex: Clive, how's it happening?

Clive: ... the Roman orgy-sized cocktail of narcotics seized from Scotland Yard after a dawn raid on enemy territory. I'm all right, I'm all right, but only just and I can't say it's gonna last...at least nothing that a few beers...

Alex: - won't put right. You're looking good. How long's it been?

Clive: 18 months and four days.

Alex: Travelling?

Clive: Pentonville, Scrubs, Highpoint, Ford. But what was good was getting so many letters. I never knew I had so many friends.

Alex:: Listen, yeah, I'm sorry about the...

Clive: Wait a minute. You're right. What visits were those?

Alex: That's what I'm saying, there weren't any.

Clive: Now you mention it, you're completely right. Not one fucking visit. What is it - you forgot all those times I visited you with so much fucking dope we must have caused a famine in the market?

Alex: Yeah, the weed rubbed it out of my mind.

Clive: So why the fuck didn't you come and visit?

Alex: Too busy, basically. The sweet siren song of legitimate business, Clive. You wouldn't know anything about that. You could have been...

Clive: ... anywhere? So you didn't read my letters?

Alex: Couldn't understand them. I failed my obscenity O level.

Clive: Oh, so you're a literary critic and a fucking skiver.

Alex: I couldn't do the travel.

Clive: So why didn't you write? At least you could have written. Too far to the post box? Open the beers. Not even you is gonna spoil my day.

Clive starts taking his shirt off.

Alex: Whoa, Clive. What are you doing?

Clive: Taking a shower. Oh, don't tell me you got a problem with that as well.

Alex: The shower's broke. Man's coming to fix it later.

Clive: What's going on? Woah, woah, woah... you got a bird in the nest? You dirty fucker. She in the shower then, I don't mind...

Alex: Clive! Park!

Clive: Who is she then? Eh? I don't believe it. Trust Alex to get fixed up when Uncle Clive is away.

Alex: What are you gonna do, stop my pocket money? Clive, do us a favour. Keep your voice down.

Clive: What's the time?

Alex: Time to -

Clive: - move on. To get the story -

Alex: - nice.

Clive: Who wants to read a book twice? I'll just take a peep -

Alex: Clive!

Clive: All right. What do we say? Put them in your bed -

Alex: Yeah, yeah, I know. But not in your head. Listen, Clive, let's come to it. The reason I didn't contact, and the reason I didn't visit, basically is that things have moved on. I didn't know how to put it to you. So if you want to know the no-bullshit truth things have changed big time. For me. I'm working on a different level now. I got a business to think about. OK?

Clive: So? I know about business.

Alex: No, you don't, Clive. This is legit. How it was before, you and me - that was fine then but this is now, Clive. I don't want that any more, all that... cheap acting... hotel scams... dodgy moves - that stuff just don't do it for me any more.

Clive: You know what?

Alex: What?

Clive: That's exactly what I was going to say.

Alex: Yeah?

Clive: But I didn't know how to put it.

Alex: Seen.

Clive: That small-time stuff we was doing - hopeless.

Alex: Uh-huh.

Clive: A donkey on two legs would get further than us.

Alex: So what's your plan?

Clive: Lemme say this. What is the point of me doing an 18 stretch when the guy the next does the same stretch for five times the wonga? See, if I get 18 for five, then we're pitching too low. Let's get fucking serious about this. My suggestion is: three strikes and we're out.

Alex: Come again?

Clive: Slow today, aren't we? Three commercials, biggies, we clear out.

Alex: Good move, Clive. Where you going?

Clive: No, no, no. It's a two-way connection, Alex.

Alex: Where's the destination, Clive?

Clive: Australia. Listen, you got the beaches, the girls, they've got some great kitchen appliances and they're all thick.

Alex: Who?

Clive: Australians, obviously. Remember those guys we sold a racehorse to, they didn't even want to see it run? We'll do serious business there. So come on then, let us in on it, what's all this caper then?

Alex: It's a business idea I'm working on.

Clive: Moody posters?

Alex: Yeah, something like that.

Clive: Good. I see no obstacle. You need help with it?

Alex: It's a one-man show to be honest.

Clive: Good. So where's the beer?

Alex: You're not listening.

Clive: Alex, this is fine for readies. But I need serious action. I've just come out. Remember? But don't you worry. You've got a nice flat and a bird parked up and I'm sure that she won't mind Uncle Clive due to current state of lacking bed home shower situation kipping down here for a bit - OK?

Alex: Not possible, sorry, Clive. Out of my hands.

Clive: Which hands are those Alex? The hands that couldn't pick up a suitcase and run when the heat came on? You know what I'm saying?

Alex: I hear you, Clive. Keep your voice down.

Clive: Maybe I will and maybe I fucking won't.

Alex: That was not my fault, bro.

Clive: It was. It was so. You should have steamed in there and clumped the guy. But oh no. You sat on your fat ass - watching. You're always fucking

watching and never doing, Alex. How could you sit there when my fucking money is on the fucking floor?

Alex: I'll tell you something. The fact is, Clive, much though I respect your style on occasions, frankly, you blew that coup yourself. What were you playing at, muscling in on the guy, wrestling him down! That's a mug's game. Our thing is chess not some fucking no-rules boxing shit!

Clive: Oh, bollocks. You're insane. The mark rumbled the coup! What was I supposed to do, put out a collection for the Princess Di Memorial Fund! I did 18 fucking months! And no wonga!

Saskia comes and stands in the door. Video earlier showed her getting out of bed.

Clive: What? Oh my...

Saskia walks out again.

Alex: Listen, Clive, just fuck off, all right?

Clive: No. This is interesting. I'm staying.

Alex: I'll see you later.

Saskia comes back.

Saskia: What is he doing here?

Alex: He's just leaving.

Clive: No, I'm not. I was but I'm not now.

Saskia: I'm warning you, Alex. Get him out of this flat. Now!

Clive: Got nowhere to go. Sorry. And in the absence of hospitality, as Waynetta would say, I am smoking a fag.

Alex gets on the phone, dials.

Alex: It's all right, babe. I'll sort it. One minute. Jimmy? Alex. Yeah, sweet as. Listen - remember you said you had a spare gaff if I got desperate? No, it's not for me actually, for someone else. Yeah, Clive. He's just come out. Yeah, that Clive. No, he has changed, give the man his due. For a few days. I knew you've done favours - you still remember the car? That was a while back now. It's not been the same since? I understand. Just a few days. He can do some folding, yeah. Yeah. Yeah. I know, yeah. Yeah. Jimmy, I - Jimmy, I - Gotta go. Bye. You cannot get off the phone. Sorted. You're staying at Jimmy's.

Clive: No, I'm not. I don't want to stay at Jimmy's. I hate Jimmy. He's a low-life dope-thieving scumbag. I wouldn't go there if you paid me.

Alex: You got no choice. It's OK, babe, I'm handling it.

Saskia: Oh yeah? (to Clive) This your bag? Then follow it.

She throws Clive's bag offstage. Then she goes off in the other direction.

Clive: I like a woman with strong arms. Good for washing up.

Alex: Clive. I'll see you up the bookies later, OK? Sorry I can't do more just now. You understand. I appreciate your coming round. Safe!

Clive: Alex, this is -

Alex: Yeah, I know....

Clive goes. Alex goes back to the drawing board. Saskia comes back in.

Saskia: Well?

Alex: Would you say that was straight?

Saskia: I don't care if it's bent as a policeman's asshole. Has he gone?

Alex: Yeah, he's gone.

Saskia: And you've got nothing more to say?

Alex: I said I'd sort it. I have.

Saskia: Break open a bottle to celebrate then shall we?

Alex: As I explained to Clive, we've no beer.

Saskia: (mimicking him) 'As I explained to Clive...' Oh, I am sorry. I would have run to the fucking off licence if I'd known he was thirsty. Alex! What was he was doing in our flat?

Alex: He just came out.

Saskia: Yes, but what did he come here for?

Alex: This was his first port of call.

Saskia: Will you stop doing that and talk to me!? Tell me if I get this wrong but you said to me that a very big reason why you'd lived a fucked up life for so long, why you'd wasted so many years dodging and conning and nicking gear was basically because Clive led you on, am I right? That it was his fault you got into crime, his fault you ended up doing jobs, his fault he bullied you and so on and so on - and then you said that with him off the scene it was a real chance to start again. You said basically that the guy was sicker than Dennis Nilson and thicker than Ronnie Kray - or was that just sweet talk to get me into bed?

Alex: All right, listen. You come here and you think you know the scene. Well, check this - there's a few things you don't understand. There's a fucking principle here basically and if you can't understand it, I can't explain it. The man's just come out of jail after doing eighteen months for something he and I were involved in, understand? And the fella's not grassed. He's not said

nish because that's how it goes. Can't you see I've got loyalty to the man? I will not just slam the door in his face. You just don't do that. There's no discussion. Yeah, in the past I may have dissed the guy to make myself look better and maybe too much. I was pissed off at him then. And, yeah, at some level he is a complete shit but we do go back.

Saskia: OK. I see what you're saying. Fine. You owe him.

Alex: Right.

Saskia: How much?

Alex: What?

Saskia: If you owe him, how much do you owe him? Let's see what we can pull together and pay him off.

Alex: Oh, please.

Saskia: How much?

Alex: No, no, no, no. It doesn't go like that. Loyalty is not measured in pounds..

Saskia: No, exactly. And that's why he's going to be able to manipulate you.

Saskia goes, comes back with a suitcase.

Alex: What's this?

Saskia: This is a suitcase. This is my coat. That is the door. Now if you want to be all pally with Clive, that's fine. When the divorce comes through you can find me at my mother's.

Alex: Don't be childish.

Saskia: Oh, me childish?

Alex: What did I say to the guy? I said -

Saskia: See you at the bookies, I think were your words.

Alex: OK, so -

Saskia: So you're going to see him again...

Alex: Don't go, babe.

Saskia: Why not?

Alex: Because I need you here.

Saskia: In that case, go to the bookies and tell him that it's finished and no Clive. And I'll wait here till you get back.

Alex: You just want me to tell him? OK. I'll go tomorrow.

Saskia: Now.

Alex: OK. No need to be so uptight -

Saskia: Go!

Alex: Do you want anything from the shop, cigarettes -?

Saskia: If you're not back soon, I'll be gone.

Alex goes.

(Johnston, 1997:33-41)

When the audience have watched the scene again, questions are posed, for example, how else could Alex have reacted when Clive first appeared after leaving prison? Should he have turned him away? Could he have acted in a more effective way? Is Saskia justified in her response? Who does Alex owe most, Clive or Saskia? A prisoner who thinks he has the answer watches the scene again. The scene is replayed and the prisoner stops the action when he thinks Alex makes his first mistake. The prisoner takes on the role of Alex and attempts to find a better way out of the situation. The actors challenge the prisoner to see if his ideas work effectively, sometimes making the situation difficult by bringing in any absent characters such as Saskia in this scene, to inflame the situation. The results are discussed by the group and usually several prisoners will attempt the role of Alex. Through further discussion, the audience are able to understand the considerable pressures on all three characters.

The scenes that are suitable to be forumed are pre-selected based on the issues to be dealt with in any specific workshop situation. The associated programme is very flexible, however, and should have the ability to be adapted depending on what issues and themes are raised by the specific audience

members. Although there are reoccurring issues that are raised by prisoners in almost every prison on the tour, there are always new perspectives to be explored. The programme and the Drama Workers must be flexible enough to deal with these new issues and adapt accordingly.

Exercises

Following the forum work on the play, the space is cleared of chairs and tables and a drama warm-up takes place. The warm-up consists of exercises that aim to build a trusting group and a safe environment where the inmates feel comfortable working with each other and the Drama Workers. Many of the exercises are standard drama exercises drawing on the work of Boal (1992), Barker (1977) and other drama practitioners (Johnston, 1998). The warm-up will last for about an hour in a one-day workshop and if the workshop or residency lasts for a few days or longer, a warm-up will occur at the start of each session. Some of the exercises used are given below in order by way of an example. It is important to note that the exercises are flexible and may be adapted to suit the needs of the specific group. For example, if a group are having trouble building trust, then more trust-based exercises will be employed. If the group have very limited drama skills, then skill building exercises may be used first to arm the participants with the skills necessary to communicate through Drama Work.

Warm-up

Name Game

Initially each participant will stand in a circle and say their name in turn. This will happen several times depending on the size of the group so that names may be learned. One person will then stand in the centre of the circle. They will make eye contact with another person in the circle and say their name loudly and clearly. They will begin to walk towards the person whose name they have called and that person must say the name of someone else in the circle before the first person reaches them. They then begin the process again, making eye contact and walking towards the person whose name they called.

Football Team Swap

Four football team names are chosen by the Drama Worker, who then goes around the circle giving a team name to each participant. When everyone has a team, a circle of chairs is made and one person stands in the centre without a chair. He or she calls the name of a team and everyone who was given that team must swap chairs. The person left standing then chooses and calls out another team.

Floor, Wall, Freeze, Friend, Centre

The group walk around the space making eye contact with each person they meet. Their aim is to respond to the different commands called out by the group leader or Drama Worker. When 'floor' is called, the participants must lay flat on the floor as quickly as possible. When 'wall' is called they must stand flat against the wall. When 'freeze' is called they must freeze like a statue. When 'friend' is called they must find another person and stand close together. At the 'centre' command, everyone rushes to the centre and stands as close as possible.

It is important to note that with prison groups, the inmates often find physical contact difficult. The 'friend' command can be set up at acceptable levels for the specific group, ranging from standing together to hugging.

Bomb and Shield

Each member of the group chooses two people in the room without telling anyone else. The first person chosen is the bomb and the second is the shield. When the command 'go' is given, they must stay as far away from the bomb as possible, trying to keep the shield in-between.

Newspaper

In an empty space with no chairs, the group stand in a circle. Several sheets of newspaper are put on the ground. An instruction is given:
Everyone must be touching the newspaper but no one must be touching the walls, floor or furniture.
Usually everyone stands on the newspaper sheets.
Gradually the sheets of paper are taken away until only one small sheet is left. The group must resolve the problem together.
The solution, which is usually reached after much discussion, is for everyone to hold a piece of the paper in their hand and simultaneously jump in the air.

The Image Game

The group sit on the floor or on chairs in a circle. One person enters the circle and makes a shape or an image. Another person from the circle will join the first person to change the meaning of the image or to add to it. The first person then leaves and sits down again so that the process can start again. Participants get up when they have an idea rather than taking turns.

Leading Blind

The group split up in to pairs, A and B. A will close his or her eyes and be led 'blind' by B around the room, ensuring A comes to no harm and does not bump into anyone else or any inanimate object. A and B then swap.

Yes, and...

In pairs, participants call themselves A and B. A will begin a made up story such as; 'This morning I looked out of my cell window and there was a huge giraffe...' B will elaborate on the story by starting 'Yes and...' and adding a new bit to the story such as; 'and it was blue with green spots...' A then continues so that the pair devise a fantastical story with no end to the possibilities. The word 'No' is forbidden as the pair must agree and embellish thus stopping the blocking of ideas.

Whose Truth?

In groups of four or five, participants are asked to recollect short stories about a misdemeanour which occurred in their past. One story is chosen and each member of the group learns the story. The group then sit on a row of chairs facing the audience (the other sub-groups). Each person tells the story as if it is his or her own. The audience are allowed to ask one question each with a yes or no answer aimed at any one of the storytellers. They must then determine whose story it actually is.

'Whose Truth?' leads quite effectively in to work in small groups which can then be performed to the audience (other group members), without a sense of making a huge leap between playing games and performing, which can be a problem if you expect groups of prisoners to 'perform' straight away.

Consequences

In small groups, the prisoners construct scenes inspired by issues central to the workshop. Each group is given the task. For example:

> **Task:**
> Make up a short scene where the following happens: One person has just been released from prison and wants to go straight. The other members of the group are his friends. The friends want him to join them in a 'job' and make it as difficult as possible for him to refuse.

Using the nature of the 'The Art of Being in the Wrong Place at the Wrong Time' workshop, the above exercise may be adapted and employed as follows:

- **Going Straight:** One man wants to change his criminal behaviour and go straight but his old friends want him to take part in a 'job', a crime. The prisoners explore different ways of refusing the old friends. One of the Drama Workers then directs the other prisoners to make the scene as difficult as possible for the prisoner trying to change. Challenges are presented and worked through. Another variation used was:

- **Partner in life or partner in crime?:** Short scenes are constructed exploring the pressure placed on an offender by his partner or wife. Firstly, the group discuss the type of pressures involved. For example, one inmate said that his wife put pressure on him to provide money for his child's birthday present, an expensive PlayStation, but she did not want him to get the money from criminal activity. His friend suggested him taking part in a robbery he had already planned in order to

obtain the necessary money. The group then improvised two short scenes, one with the wife and one with the friend. I suggested further scenes where the central character refused the friend's offer, which is what he said he really wanted to do, to see what would happen. How could he handle the situation without offending the friend?

The man found this very difficult and after some persuasion accepted the offer. I then asked him to improvise some further scenes each leading on from the last so that he could examine the consequence of his action. Firstly I asked him to take the PlayStation bought with the stolen money home to his wife. She was suspicious about where the money had come from and asked him a lot of questions. Under the pressure he ended up arguing with her and storming out. I asked him to go home and try to resolve the situation. When he returned home another Drama Worker played a Police Officer who had come round to question where he was on the night of the robbery. It ended with his arrest and his wife in tears.

By progressing the scenes, the offender is able to look at the long-term consequences of an action rather than the short-term. The group discussed what type of sentence he may get for his part in the robbery, how he would cope with being back in prison, whether or not his wife would wait for him a second time. It is essential that the Drama Worker think ahead when watching the first scene in order to set up the subsequent scenes of consequence.

Working through the scenes of consequences can take some time, particularly when there are several groups to work through. It is essential to allocate enough time to see each scene through and to discuss the work fully. The other participants should be given time to make comments and also discuss the work. If the

workshops are to run for several days the exercise can be developed so that the inmates construct short plays or performance pieces from the scenes of consequence.

Problem Shooting

In my experience there are several problematic issues connected to working in a prison context, which I will explore in the following section.

Staff Attitudes:

> Drama tends to have a bad reputation in prisons. It is seen as something that stirs the prisoners up. Drama Workers are seen as difficult and demanding, with no understanding of why security is important (Stamp, 1998:107).

There are often difficulties between prison officers and Drama Workers in prison. Sadly, there are some prison officers who see Drama Work as a treat or reward and do not consider the inmates deserving of such. Others see Drama Work as Dramatherapy and feel uncomfortable about outsiders discussing specific offences with the inmates. There are many reasons for the difficulties and it is essential for the Drama Worker to attempt to combat them. While I prefer to work without staff present, I try to chat to the officers on duty before and after the session. If there is to be a showing of work at the end of a residency, I ensure they are invited and welcomed. I have found it best to explain to the staff what I will be doing in the session and reassure them that I have worked in many other prisons successfully. By keeping staff fully informed I have found there are fewer problems. The prison officers are

responsible for bringing the inmates to and from sessions and a good relationship with the officers will help ensure you maintain the same group of inmates over the period of a residency. If officers feel negative about the work, they may keep prisoners away on subsequent days, thus disrupting the group.

Fear of disclosing offences

If a workshop directly challenges specific offences, inmates may be cautious about disclosing details of their offending history. This may be because their offence would arouse negative feelings amongst the other prisoners, especially if the offence is against women or children and/or is a sexual offence. Drama Workers should be cautious about asking for information. It is my opinion that information should be offered voluntarily by the inmate. Disclosure of information may leave a prisoner susceptible to bullying or intimidation within the prison. While facilitating a group, the Drama Worker must take responsibility for the inmate's welfare and probing emotive areas may not be a good idea. It is for this reason that I, along with other workers at Insight, prefer to run workshops that are non-specific, that is to say that offending behaviour is challenged but specific offences of an individual are not. Of course this method varies considerably from Dramatherapy where specific offences often become the central focus of the work.

Fear of trusting Others

Part of a Drama Workshop is centred on the notion of building trust. Exercises are employed specifically to do just that. As inmates begin to trust they may feel vulnerable and distance themselves from the group or choose to stop attending (Stamp, 1998). It is the job of the Drama Worker to provide a safe setting in which to work. I often discuss the idea of trust with the group and it is possible that the group make a contract, that is to

all agree that what occurs during the workshop is confidential and details should not be discussed with other parties. Of course this is difficult in a prison setting. Drama Work often leaves the prisoners excited and they will want to discuss the work with other inmates. I prefer to discuss that we will be building a trusting group and explain how we will do that and what that entails.

Problems in session

I have found that most inmates respond well to Drama Work and have experienced very few instances where a prisoner does not want to take part in an exercise. The key is to build the session gradually so that the inmate does not feel he is acting. Through game playing or forum work, the inmate may become the actor without even realising it. It is important, however, to acknowledge which exercises may be problematic and be ready to adapt them if necessary. It would be futile to expect a group to fulfil an exercise that involves physical contact in the early part of a session. It would be ineffective to expect a prisoner to get up and perform alone too quickly. He may feel alienated and scared of making a fool of himself. I have found it best to stick to group work so that no one has to perform alone, too early in the process.

Fighting Emotional Inhibitions

While working with some ex-offender groups I have discovered it can be difficult to get them to drop their prison masks. That is to say that many men who have been institutionalised for long periods, have very visible defence mechanisms designed to protect themselves from prison life. They do not like to be seen expressing emotions, other than anger, as they see the expression of emotions such as grief or fear to be weak. They

do not want to feel embarrassed or ashamed in front of other people. Many aspects of these masks are tied up in criminal code and behaviour. There is a huge fear of looking stupid. Even when only one group member refuses to drop his mask it can have a profound affect on the group and inhibit effective work.

Often these men will only improvise angry, dominant characters. As Drama Work involves establishing the truth about real feelings and emotions these hindrances must be over come. I have tried a number of exercises and methods to break this down and get to the root of the feelings behind the person. I also try to show the client that drama is about taking risks and, by taking risks, you look brave not stupid. I have devised an exercise called 'Dead Bodies', which draws on a non-verbal dance exercise used by V-TOL Dance Company[5], where one person plays dead and is manipulated by another person physically. This gets the men used to physical contact while exploring emotional feelings and the imagination.

Dead Bodies

Stage 1: The group are split in to pairs, A and B. A lies on the floor and attempts to totally relax his or her body. It may be necessary to run some relaxation exercises prior to this. The idea is to play dead. B checks that A is relaxed totally by moving A's arms and legs and encouraging them to relax further. When satisfied that A is successfully playing dead, stage 2 can start.

Stage 2: B pretends that A is dead and tries to imagine that A is a close friend, a relative, a partner or spouse or some other person who is very important in their life. B is told that he or she is alone in a room with the dead person A and that no one knows they are there. Perhaps no one even knows that A is dead. B can do anything they want to with the dead body, (give rules such as not physically hurting A and maintain their trust, etc.). Are there things they need to say to A that were left unsaid before? Was A murdered? Who killed A? Is A in a morgue or an undertakers, or perhaps a chapel of rest? Perhaps B wants to hide or move A? Perhaps B cannot accept the death and tries to wake A up? Anything is possible.

Stage 3: One couple at a time play out the scene while the rest of the group observes and interprets the action. Music can be used to enhance the atmosphere. B can enter the room at the start of the exercise and find A there or can already be with A.

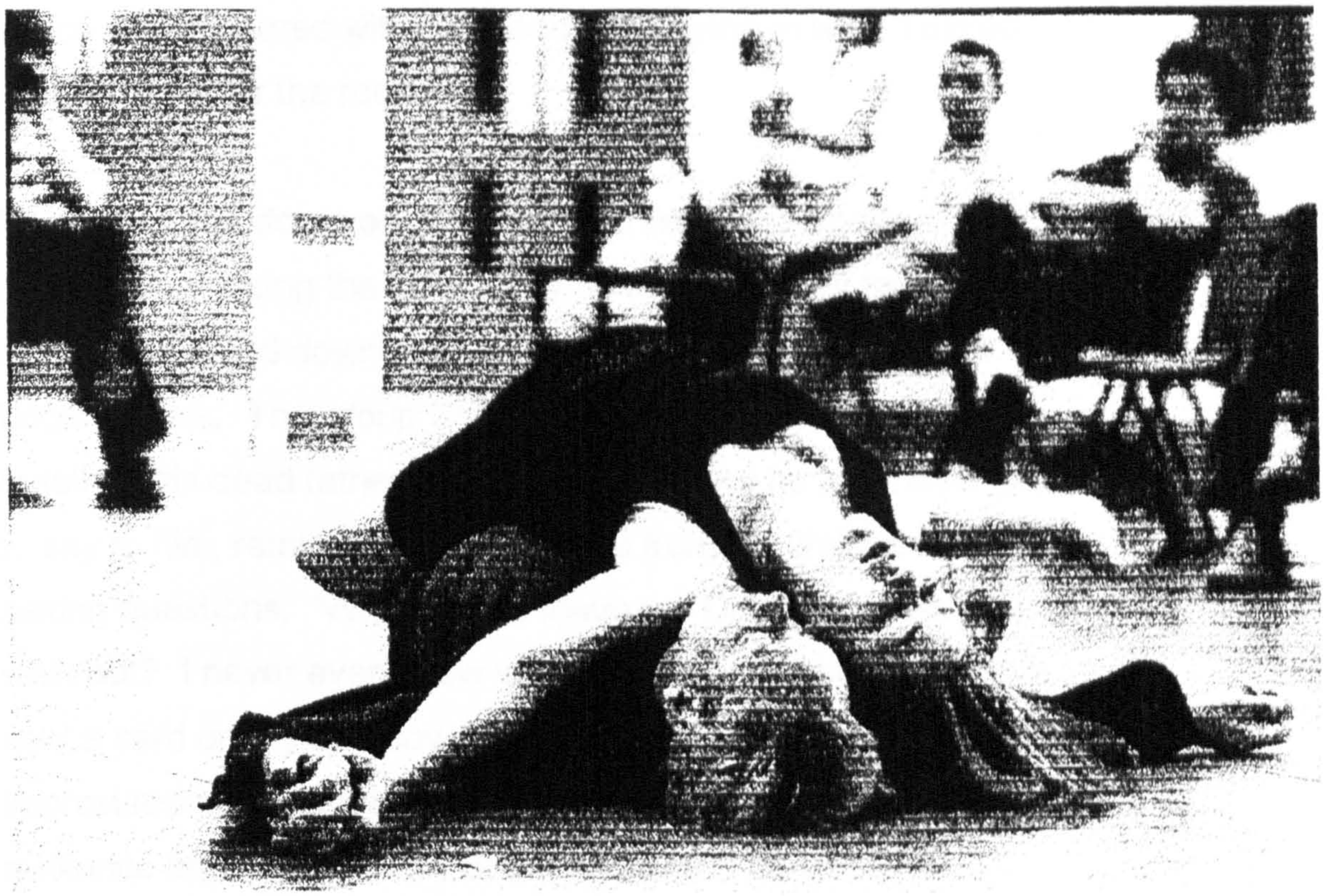

Fig 16: The 'Dead Bodies' exercise in practice

I have used this exercise on a number of occasions with both offending and non-offending populations and the results can be very interesting. I first used this exercise with ex-offenders on probation during the 'Guess and Run' project. I found it essential to set up a very safe environment where the clients felt able to trust each other and me, so they could be honest about their emotions and feelings. In Stage 2, the group were all working simultaneously with their 'dead bodies' and everyone was taking it very seriously. Sometimes with non-offending populations I have found that there can be a lot of humour in the exercise. Ex-offenders on the other hand seem to take it very seriously and produce highly dramatic pieces of instant theatre.

One man, whom I shall refer to as 'Darren', wanted to fulfil Stage 3 of the exercise and perform his piece in front of the other participants. I dimmed the lights and chose some mournful classical music. 'Darren' waited outside and when the

space was prepared with his 'dead body' lying in wait, I asked 'Darren' to enter the room.

He opened the door very slowly and entered the space cautiously. Seeing the dead body he moved slowly towards him. He kneeled down beside the body and taking his hand began to talk. The group watched in silence as 'Darren' began to talk to his dead father, saying all the things he had never got to say to him, reminding him of stories from his childhood, asking questions. 'Why did you leave me Dad? Why did you walk out? I never even knew where you were. You could have sent a card on my birthday, just once Dad, just once?' 'Darren"s improvised monologue dissolved in real tears and the stunned audience applauded loudly at the end of the exercise.[6]

'Darren' had amazed himself as well as the rest of the group with his emotional outburst. It was exciting to watch both 'Darren' and the other men in the group drop their macho prison masks and look in to their own and each other's souls. The men, who had previously found it very difficult to improvise scenes where they had to show emotions other than anger, congratulated 'Darren' and were eager to perform their own dead body exercises. I asked 'Darren' to try and remember what he had said and write it down to form a monologue. The result was an excellent piece of emotional writing from someone who had never written anything creative before. After this exercise, 'Darren' was able to communicate emotions far more effectively as were other group members who had witnessed the exercise.

While there are difficulties involved in working in prison, it is important for the Drama Worker to be clear that they can be overcome. Planning sessions in advance and being armed with strategies and exercises to combat problematic issues will help

make the sessions run more smoothly. Preparation is very important.

Ending a session

At the end of a session I would hope the inmates feel they have achieved something and I like to remind them of this. On day one or at the start of a session they may be scared to perform, feel they have nothing to contribute and be afraid to 'look stupid'. As these barriers are broken down through the course of the work, the prisoners begin to achieve. They make the leap from non-actor to actor. They release creative energies. The whole experience can be bonding and the group may have a feeling of being united. They may also have challenged some important aspects of their own behaviour. If one of the Drama Workers present is an ex-offender, the group will have seen how there may be an alternative lifestyle available to them on release, too. That it is possible to change and walk away from criminal behaviour. The Insight team always make sure there is sufficient information about post-release courses available to the inmates.

I have found it is positive to end the session with some simple group exercises, which may in some way unite the group. An example of an appropriate exercise follows.

Group Tangle

The group stand in a circle and hold hands. One person breaks the circle and as a chain, the group wind around the person at the farthest end, to form a spiral. Everyone shuts their eyes and lets go of their neighbour's hands. They then find two new hands. When everyone is holding another hand in both of theirs, the group open their eyes and attempt to un-tangle and form a circle again.

Ending a Residency

In my experience it has proved fruitful to end a residency with an informal showing, where, other prison inmates, staff and the Governor, can view the work the inmates have created. Some staff and other inmates may be resentful towards Drama Workers and inmates participating in the work. Often this resentful attitude may just come from the secrecy of the sessions. Along with other Drama Workers I interviewed for this thesis, I prefer to work without a prison officer present (Drama Worker 3, 1998, Drama Worker 4, 1999). In my experience the absence of prison officers makes the inmates feel more relaxed and able to participate fully without the fear of looking stupid. By producing a short showing at the end of the work, the participants are able to feel they have achieved something and the process of what occurs in the Drama Work room is de-mystified for the other prisoners and staff.

When I saw them doing the play, I was gutted. I really wished I'd had the courage to do the Drama Workshop. My cellmate did it and he was raving about it every night. I thought I'd look stupid if I did it but they were brilliant. I'm definitely doing the next one. Are you lot coming back? (Inmate 7, 12.08.94, HMP Lewes).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the methods I have used while working with offenders. I have focused on prison work using the specific example of 'The Art Of Being In The Wrong Place At The Wrong Time' project with Insight Arts Trust. I have identified some of the major problems facing prison Drama Workers and attempted to provide solutions. I have emphasised the importance of good preparation and maintaining good relationships with prison staff. I have cited specific exercises that I have used during the process of my work and suggested ways in which they may be adapted to suit specific clients. In the next chapter I will continue to make recommendations for the future of Drama Work in prison and on probation.

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[1] I would not claim to have 'invented' this approach. It is an approach which has been employed by Insight Arts Trust for some time, under the influence of Chris Johnston. I am simply stating that it is in my opinion the most effective approach and one that I feel should be employed.

[2] This is an extract of a transcript, which can be found in full in Appendix 10.

[3] This is an extract of a transcript, which can be found in full in Appendix 10.

[4] This is an extract of a transcript, which can be found in full in Appendix 10.

[5] V-TOL Dance Company is a London-based touring contemporary dance company of international repute. Their artistic director is Mark Murphy.

[6] The participants involved in this exercise were members of the 'Guess and Run' project, see Chapter Four.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMENDATIONS

'I know that what we do has great validity; I know that because I've seen it. I also know that in a very small way it is part of the constant need to keep people human. When we start demonising people we are in trouble' (Hewish, 20.01.99, London).

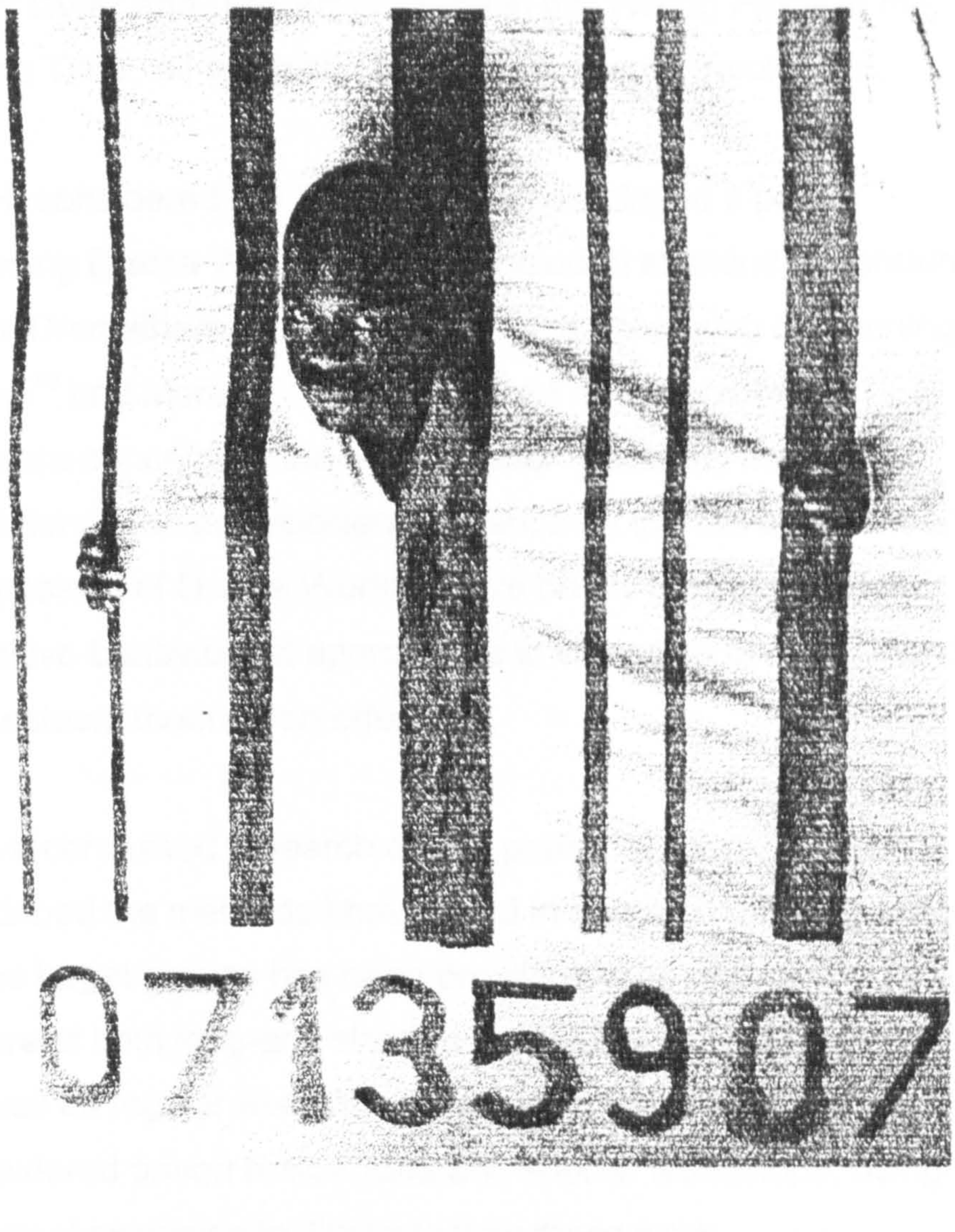

Fig.17: Insight Arts Trust publicity photograph

In this thesis I have examined the history of prison and punishment and commented on the nature of the prison system, as it exists in England and Wales today. I have attempted to form a chronology of the history of Drama Work in prison and

with ex-offenders, serving probation or parole orders, within the community. I have studied and given examples of the types of programmes available by the leading companies specialising in Drama Work with offenders. These include the work of Geese Theatre Company USA[1], Geese Theatre Company GB[2], Clean Break[3], the TIPP Centre[4], Stephen Plaice[5], Saul Hewish[6] and Chris Johnston[7]. I have examined in depth the work of Insight Arts Trust[8] by focussing on several projects including the short term project 'Guess and Run' and two long term projects 'The Anger Dyes' and 'The Art of Being in the Wrong Place at the Wrong Time', all of which I have been directly involved in.

I have considered the literature that has played a part in informing Drama Work. This has included examining literature about Dramatherapy and Psychodrama, focussing on Jennings[9], Stamp[10] and Moreno[11]. Furthermore I have considered literature concerning the work of Boal[12], cited by many practitioners as an important influence on the development and progression of Drama Work. I have briefly considered both cognitive-behaviourist approaches to offending behaviour and self-esteem theories on offending.

I have conducted research over a period of six years and described the methods I have used in detail. A detailed analysis of the target groups has been provided. I have examined the nature of both long-and short-term projects with probation clients as well as regular evening class Drama Workshops. I have considered prison residencies and shorter workshops, using practical examples to illustrate how these work.

I have explained the findings of my research in detail.

Furthermore I have made a contribution to the field in detailing my own methods, which I have established over a six-year

period. Using a specific project I have illustrated how my methods have been and can be employed. I have given advice regarding trouble-shooting in order to explain and combat some of the problems facing Drama Workers. I have noted and attempted to fill some of the gaps in existing literature and social research pertaining to Drama Work.

It is in this chapter that I would like to make clear my recommendations regarding Drama Work in prison and with ex-offenders in the community.

Through this thesis I have attempted to demonstrate the value of Drama Work. While it cannot be viewed as the ideal or only intervention, a cure-all for offending behaviour, I believe I have proved that it may be successful in some cases. There are inevitably some offenders who may be better suited to other interventions, who would not benefit from Drama Work. However, I believe that the majority of offenders in prison or serving probation orders could benefit from some aspect of Drama Work. In some cases, violent offenders for instance, this may mean a specifically targeted programme of anger management, employing drama techniques; forum and role-play in particular. For other less serious offences, a general Drama Work programme, employing techniques aimed at confidence boosting, behavioural modification, self-empowerment and decision making, may be more appropriate. For sexual offenders, a longer programme would be advisable, where the offender can work through his or her offences over a long period of time using role-play and the sort of exercises employed by Geese Theatre Company and Saul Hewish. This would work best if employed alongside a conventional therapy programme and perhaps other interventions, as seen at therapeutic prison, HMP Grendon in Buckinghamshire.

It is my recommendation that a body of Drama Work practitioners alongside therapists and probation officers should fully investigate how these sorts of programmes may be best employed. In the first instance I would propose the invention of three separate programmes; a general, non-specific programme aimed at the majority of offenders, a directly targeted programme for sexual offenders and an anger management based programme for violent offenders. It is important to note that I would consider anger management to be an important component of the general non-specific programme too, as it is a skill that would be useful to the majority of offenders. Similar projects based within the community should be offered to all probation clients at the commencement of their probation orders.

I would then hope to see these programmes employed initially as a pilot scheme within perhaps ten British prisons. If the scheme proved successful, which I believe based on my research it would, I would then hope it could be implemented in all prisons within England and Wales. While this may be an ambitious project and would involve completely changing the existing rehabilitation programmes in prison today and implementing them where they do not currently exist at all, I believe that a reduction in rates of recidivism would be seen. Of course, it is impossible to prove that this would be the case without conducting a pilot scheme and monitoring the beneficiaries over a period of time to see if recidivism occurs. This could be an area for further research. My research has proved that in most cases, drama-based programmes aimed at addressing offending behaviour do work, when voluntarily attended. I would suggest that one or more of the professional companies that employ Drama Work could facilitate the programmes. For example, Geese Theatre Company GB could facilitate the programme for sexual offenders while perhaps

Clean Break could be responsible for similar programmes in women's prisons. Insight Arts Trust, who have extensive experience of working with a variety of offenders and running anger management programmes would be suitable to facilitate both the programme for violent offenders and the non-specific programme.

Like other ventures which have been tried, such as day centres or community service (cf. Vass, 1984), Drama Work programmes are generally taxing because they can only take place in relatively small groups under adequate supervision and more significantly in designated and approved settings. For this reason alone Drama Work may play a minor but nonetheless significant role in dealing with offenders.

While I would propose that the government be responsible for the majority of the funding for these projects, the companies could be involved in raising some of the finance through their sponsors and the Arts Council.

While constructing a programme of this nature would take a long time, a great deal of work and impressive funding, implementing Drama Workshops or classes in to the education programme of all prisons would not be so problematic. I believe that prisoners would benefit, to some extent from just one drama class a week as part of the education programme. In my research I have seen that when introduced to drama through a visiting theatre company or an interested education worker, prisoners will quite often facilitate their own projects as a result. These projects, or drama groups, often facilitated by just one or two prisoners, have frequently led to large productions involving many prisoners. If this only serves as a diversion and directs the prisoners focus away from crime then surely that is of some benefit?

While different companies charge significantly different rates for workshops or performances, an average figure, derived from the differing charges may be considered. In 1999, the average charge made to a prison for a visiting theatre company performance was £450. On occasion this included a two-hour workshop but, on average, the cost of a performance and two hour workshop was £600. As explained in Chapter One, there are various sources of funding available for prisons to draw on which may subsidise or account for such a figure. It would not therefore prove an outrageous expense for every prison to host a visiting company at least twice a year. Even this limited amount of contact with Drama Work may have some impact, and inspire interested offenders to initiate their own groups or seek companies like Insight Arts Trust or Clean Break, on their release.

Another way that Drama Work may be introduced in to a prison regime is through the employment of a part-time drama teacher. Again this would not be of enormous cost and may be of considerable benefit.

While I would not claim that Drama Work could instantly rehabilitate a habitual offender, I have seen first-hand the benefit it has held for the many probation clients and prisoners who have worked with Insight Arts Trust and other such companies, over the past six years. I do believe that with further research suitable programmes could be developed which would help combat the rates of recidivism. I have experienced how Drama Work has the ability to help an offender recognise and subsequently modify or change his or her behaviour, so that he or she may become a valuable member of society. It is my belief that no one is beyond help; no offender is so depraved that he or she cannot be helped through therapy and

programmes of intervention. While Drama Work may not be appropriate for every offender in Britain today, it has been a successful intervention for many and has vast potential to benefit many more and in reducing rates of re-offending may benefit society as a whole.

> Prison is like a nightmare that has no end. Day in day out of the same bleak drudgery. You get excited about the small things, like having an extra few cigarettes or a new job working in the kitchens. When I found drama it was like my whole life changed. Suddenly I had something to focus on, something to think about. I sat in my cell night after night thinking up new ideas for scripts, improvising in my head, killing the hours until the next drama session. And in the sessions I watched myself grow and change. I found a new sense of confidence, I could speak out, I was good at something for the first time in my life. I remember the first time I saw a play in prison. In that grey nightmare place the actors lit up my life like fireworks and I have never looked back (Offender 21, 2.03.94, London).

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[1] See Chapter One for further information on Geese Theatre Company USA

[2] See Chapter One for further information on Geese Theatre Company GB

[3] See Chapter One for further information on Clean Break Theatre Company

[4] See Chapter One for further information about the TIPP Centre

[5] See Chapter One for further information about Stephen Plaice

[6] See Chapter One for further information about Saul Hewish

[7] See Chapter One for further information about Chris Johnston's work with Insight Arts Trust

[8] See Chapter One for further information about Insight Arts Trust

[9] See Chapter Two for information regarding Sue Jennings' Dramatherapy

[10] See Chapter Two for information regarding Sally Stamp's work with prisoners

[11] See Chapter Two for information regarding Jacob Moreno's Psychodrama

[12] See Chapter Two, for information regarding Augustus Boal

APPENDIX 1

Demographics and Offending History of Participants.

Demographics of Insight Questionnaire Respondents

Five men

Three white
Two black

one aged under 21
one aged between 21-25
two aged between 25-35
one aged between 60-65

Offending History:

The length of time participants had been offending ranged between five and 50 years, with the majority having offended for six years or more.

Previous offending consisted mainly of driving offences, theft, burglary, possession of drugs and armed robbery.

Demographics of Clean Break Questionnaire Respondents

Five women

Two white
Three black

two aged between 21-25
three aged between 25-35

Offending History:

The length of time participants had been offending ranged between one and five years.

Previous offending consisted mainly of theft and possession of drugs.

Demographics of Geese Questionnaire Respondents

Five men

Three white
Two black

one aged between 21-25
two aged between 25-35
one aged between 35-40

Offending History:

The length of time participants had been offending ranged between five and 12 years, with the majority having offended for six years or more.

Previous offending consisted mainly of violent offences, theft, possession of drugs and robbery.

Demographics of Interviewed Ex-Offenders who had attended drama programmes

Thirty men
Ten women

22 white
15 black
3 mixed race

17 aged between 21-25
10 aged between 25-35
13 aged between 35-40

Offending History:
20 on probation
3 on parole

The length of time respondents had been offending ranged between two and 23 years, with the majority having offended for five years or more.

Drama Work History:

10 had attended courses run by Insight Arts Trust
6 had attended courses run by Clean Break
5 had attended courses run by Geese
3 had attended courses run by Glyndebourne Opera Education
4 had attended courses run by the TIPP Centre
12 had attended drama courses or workshops in prison and did not know the name of the company facilitating the session

Previous offending consisted mainly of violent offences, theft, possession of drugs, dealing drugs, burglary and robbery.

APPENDIX 2

Semi structured interview used with the 40 participants who attended drama projects.

Explain reasons for interview and stress anonymity.

1. Referral: Were you referred to the project by your probation officer?
2. Why did you choose to attend the course if it was not compulsory? If it was compulsory, please state.
3. Why drama rather than another art form offered by company?
4. What have you learnt from the process of Drama Work?
5. Do you feel that the process has had any affect on your offending behaviour? If it has, in what way?
6. Will you continue to attend Drama Workshops (if available)?
7. If the course had been compulsory, that is, part of your sentence or probation order, would you have attended with the same enthusiasm?
8. Do you think similar courses should; (a) remain optional, (b) be compulsory for certain offenders, (c) be part of a sentence, (d) be available in prison.
9. Will you pursue drama activities outside this company? If yes, how/where?
   If no, why not?
10. Which company (if any) are you working with at present?
11. Have you worked with any other drama companies in the past, in prison or within the community? Please name them.

12. Has Drama Work affected your understanding of your own behaviour or the behaviour of other people?
13. What did you feel about working in a group? Had you ever been involved in group work before?
14. Would you like to add any further comments?

APPENDIX 3

Questionnaire for clients who had previously attended programmes run by Geese Theatre Company, Clean Break Theatre Company or Insight Arts Trust.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please fill in the following questionnaire. You do not need to put your name on the form and you will remain anonymous. Your responses will be used for research purposes only.

1. Company running project you have attended.

2. Name and type of project.
(e.g. Residency in 'Anger Management')

3: Did you attend this course voluntarily or as part of a court/probation order?

4: If voluntarily, why? Did you find out about it from your probation officer?

5: Has the programme affected you as a person? If so, how?

6: Has the programme affected your attitude towards offending? If so, how?

7: Would you attend further drama projects or workshops voluntarily?

8: Do you think similar drama projects should be made available in prison?

9: Do you think similar drama projects should be made available to all probation clients?

10: Do you think Drama Work may be more suitable for some offenders rather than others, dependent on what sort of offences they have committed?

11: What was the best thing about the work?

12: What was the worst thing about the work?

13: Do you think the workshops have had any effect on your offending behaviour?

It would be helpful if you could fill in the following personal details. Please remember you will remain anonymous.

(a) Age category: 16-20 Male/Female
21-25
26-30
31-35
36-40
41-50
51-60
Please tick one.

(b) Would you describe yourself as Black, White, Mixed Race, Asian, European, Other.

(c) Are you currently on probation or parole? (Please state which if any)

(d) If yes, what was your last offence?

(e) If no, when did you commit your last offence?

(f) Can you briefly state the main type of offences committed in the past?

(g) How long have you been offending?

(h) Do you have any further comments about Drama Work?

APPENDIX 4

Topic guide used to interview Drama Work practitioners

1. How long have you been working with offenders using drama?
2. Can you give a description of the purpose of your work?
3. Can you cite any major influences on your work, either in the form of companies, practitioners or movements (e.g. dramatherapy, psychodrama etc.)
4. What are the differences for you between working with probation clients and working with prison inmates?
5. How do you assess the success of a project?
6. What criteria do you use to assess the work?
7. Do you document the work you carry out?
8. Do you think Drama Work is valuable as an intervention; that is to stop people offending or re-offending?
9. If yes, why is it suitable and how is it suitable?
10. Do you think Drama Work alone could stop offenders re-offending? How and why? What are the benefits of Drama Work?
11. Can you give examples of successes and failures that have occurred in the process of your work?
12. How would you like to see Drama Work with offending populations progress in the future?
13. What do you see as the major hindrances on the progression of such work?
14. Do you think that long-term drama programmes could be successfully employed in prison to help offenders 'rehearse' for life outside?
15. In your experience, what are the main problems with the funding of such work if there are any?

APPENDIX 5

Table 3: Drama Activities in British Prisons Period 31.1.95 - 31.1.97

Prison	TC Perf	Wksp	Res	Other
HMP Aclington	1			
HMP Albany	4			
HMP Aldington	3	1		Drama appreciation group
HMP Ashwell	3			Evening drama class
HMP Askham Grange				Evening pantomime group
HMYOI Aylesbury				
HMP Bedford				
HMP Birmingham				
HMYOI Blantyre House				5 performances by Inmates
HMP Blundeston	1			Drama group/pm class
HMP Bristol				
HMP Brixton				Play writing class
HM Remand Ctr. Brockhill				
HMYOI Buckley Hall				Drama day class
HMYOI Bullwood Hall				
HMP Camp Hill				
HMYOI Campsfield House				
HMP Canterbury				
HMP Cardiff	1			
HMYOI Castington	3			Drama summer school
				6 month writer residency
HMP Channing Wood				Drama class
HMP Chelmsford				
HMP Coldingley				Drama am/pm classes
HMP Cookham Wood				Drama class
HMP Dartmoor	1			Long term project
HMYOI Deerbolt	4			
HMP Dorchester	1	1		
HMYOI Dover				
HMPandYOI Drake Hall	2	1	3	Several long term projects
HMP Durham				
HMYOI East Sutton park				
HMYOI Eastwood Park				
HMYOI Erlestoke House				Playwriting
HMYOI Everthorpe	1	1		
HMYOI Exeter				Dramatherapy class
HMP Featherstone	1			Pantomime by Inmates
HMYOI Feltham				Playwriting class
HMYOI Finnamore Wood				Acting and Drama
HMP Ford				
HMYOI Foston Hall				
HMP Frankland	4			Acting and Drama
HMP Full Sutton	2			Drama class/arts festival
HMP Garth	1			Drama class
HMP Gartree	1			Drama class
HMYOI Glen Parva	3		2	Drama class/ arts festivals
HMP Gloucester		1		Drama class
HMP and YOI Grendon/Spring Hill	7	3	2	Drama class
HMYOI Guys Marsh	2			
HMYOI Haslar				
HMYOI Hatfield	1			
HMP Haverigg				
HMYOI Hewell Grange	1	1		In-house performance.
HMP Highpoint	3	1	1	Drama class
HMYOI Hindley				
HMYOI Hollesley Bay Colony				

Prison	TC Perf	Wksp	Res	Other
HMP Holloway	5	11	4	In-house work
HMP Hull			1	
HMYOI Huntercombe				
HMP Kingston Portsmouth	10			Drama class
HMP Kirkham	1			Drama class
HMYOI Kirklevington Grange				
HMP Lancaster				
HM Remand Centre Latchmere House		1		Drama class
HMP Leeds				
HMP Leicester				
HMP Lewes	7	1	2	Drama class
HMP Leyhill	11	4	1	Drama class
HMP Lincoln				
HMP Lindholme				
HMP Littlehey	2	3		Performance
HMP Liverpool	1			Drama class
HMP Long Lartin	5	2		Drama appreciation
HMYOI Lowdham Grange	1	1		
HM Remand Centre Low Newton			1	
HMP Maidstone				
HMP Manchester	2	1	3	Drama class
HMP Morton Hall	5	1	1	
HMYOI The Mount				
HMYOI New Hall	1			
HMYOI North Hallerton	1			
HMP Northeye	1			
HMYOI North Sea Camp				
HMP Norwich	1	1	2	2 Drama classes
HMP Nottingham				
HMYOI Onley	3	2		Drama class
HMP Oxford				
HMP Parkhurst				
HMP Pentonville	2			2 Drama Classes
HMYOI Portland	1			
HMP Preston				Drama Class
HM Remand Centre Pucklechurch				
HMP Ranby	1			
HMP Reading				Drama class
HM Remand Centre Risley				
HMYOI Rochester	3			
HMP Rudgate				Drama class
HMP Send	1	1	2	2 Drama classes
HMP Shepton Mallet			3	2 Drama classes
HMP Shrewsbury	1			
HMP Stafford	4	1	2	2 Drama classes
HMP Standford Hill	1	1		2 Drama classes
HMP Stocken	5		1	Drama class/ arts festival
HMYOI Stokeheath				
HMYOI Styal	7		1	
HMP Sudbury	1			Drama group
HMP Swaleside	1			Drama class
HMP Swansea				
HMYOI Swinfen Hall		3		
HMYOI Thorn Cross	1	1	2	
HMP Thorp Arch				
HMYOI Usk				
HMP The Verne	2			Drama class
HMP Wakefield				
HMP Wandsworth				Drama class
HMP Wayland				
HMYOI Wellingborough	2	1		Drama group
HMYOI Werrington House				
HMYOI Wetherby				
HMYOI Whatton				
HMP Winchester	3		3	Drama class
HMP Wormwood Scrubs	2	2	1	3 Drama classes and group
HMP Wymott	2		4	

TC Perf = Performance by visiting theatre company
Wkshp = Drama Workshop facilitated by visiting company or individual
Res = Residency by visiting company or individual
Other = Drama classes facilitated as part of education, drama groups initiated by inmates, staff, education staff etc.

Statistics collated by the researcher

APPENDIX 6

Glossary

The following terms used within the thesis may benefit from further explanation.

Dramatherapy	Individual or group therapy, employing drama based techniques, devised by Sue Jennings and employed to work with many different groups, including the disabled, the mentally ill, prisoners etc.
Dramatherapist	An individual trained and qualified to facilitate Dramatherapy sessions.
Drama Work	A loose term employed to denote work with offenders, using a drama-based technique which does not fall into the territory of drama therapy.
Drama Worker	An individual trained to facilitate Drama Work with offenders.
Psychodrama	A technique developed by Jacob Moreno involving clinical role-playing, behavioural rehearsal, and other drama-based techniques in order to explore truth through a dramatic medium.
Psychodramatist	An individual trained and qualified to facilitate Psychodrama with a group.

Prison and street terms and slang

Armed blagg	Armed robbery
Bang up	The period of time a prisoner is confined to their cell.
Doing Bird	Carrying out a prison sentence.
Canteen	The prison shop or the period of time when prisoners are allowed to buy tobacco and other items.
Cat A,B,C & D	The different security categories of prisoners.
Cell Spin	A surprise cell search where officers look for contraband goods, drugs, weapons etc.
Chore	Steal, particularly cars.
Dosh	Money.
HMP	Her Majesties Prison
HMYOI	Her Majesties Young Offenders Institution
Landing	The levels of floor that house the cells in a prison.
Lifer	A prisoner who has been given a life sentence.
Nick	A prison or to steal
Nicked	Arrested or stolen.
Nish	Nothing
Nonce	A sex offender, particularly paedophiles or any prisoner protected under Rule 43

Rozzer	Policeman
Rule 43	The rule in the Prisons Act that segregates prisoners to protect them for their own safety
Screw	A prison officer
Smack	Heroin
Smacky	Heroin addict
Street	Where a person comes from, the area surrounding their home.
Doing Time	Carrying out a prison sentence.
A Touch	A very short sentence.
The Two's	The second landing.
Wing	Prisoners are held in cells within different wings, such as A wing or B Wing.
Wonga	Money

For further reading and a dictionary of prison slang, see Devlin, 1996, Prison Patter, A Dictionary of Prison Words and Slang.

APPENDIX 7

Sample transcripts, selected at random, taken from the transcripts of the semi structured interviews with 40 ex-offenders who had attended drama projects. Interviews took place between January and March 1994 in London.

OFFENDER 6:

EDG: **Referral: Did your probation officer refer you to the project?**

6: Yes, sort of. She told me about it. She had sent another geezer there before and thought I'd be up for it.

EDG: **Why did you choose to attend the course if it was not compulsory, assuming it wasn't that is.**

6: No, it wasn't. I liked drama at school and that and I thought it might be a laugh. I think that's why I said I fancied it initially.

EDG: **Why drama rather than another art form?**

6: I did photography as well. I asked to do both but the drama course was running first so I did that, then I did photography, then another drama thing.

EDG: **What have you learnt from the process of Drama Work?**

6: A lot, I think. Some of the exercises you have to do in the drama group make you realise things about yourself. I learned how to respect other people's feelings and opinions. We had to learn how to not block other people's ideas, that you have to listen to everyone in the group. I found that hard to start with

but after a while you see how important it is. I think I learned a lot about myself too in terms of my own potential. I never knew I was a creative person until I did the drama. I think it was always inside me but I never knew how to let it out. Does that make sense?

EDG: **Yes, It does.**

6: I think I realised stuff about my own actions too, like the way I reacted to other people and that. I learned not to take offence if someone didn't like what I was saying.

EDG: **Do you feel that the process has had any affect on your offending behaviour?**

6: Well, I don't do it anymore! I'm trying to go straight – strictly no crime. No drink or drugs either, and that's what made me get into the crime in the first place. It keeps your mind off that stuff, d'you know what I mean?

EDG: **What drama keeps your mind off it?**

6: Yeah. If I'm worrying about learning my lines or having some ideas for the next class I'm not thinking about drink and that.

EDG: **Has the drama affected your offending in any other ways?**

6: What do you mean?

EDG: **Well, have you learned anything about your offending behaviour from doing drama?**

6: Oh right, yeah. I think I understand a bit more about my motivation, like I said, the drink and drugs and that. I've also learned not to hang about with my old mates.

EDG: **Who do you hang around with now then?**

6: The geezers I've met at drama mostly. They're my mates now.

EDG: Will you continue to attend Drama Workshops if they are available?

6: Yeah. I'm going to the evening workshops, have been for ages now. I'm doing a writing thing, too, soon.

EDG: If the course had been compulsory, that is, part of your sentence or probation order, would you have attended with the same enthusiasm?

6: Well, I don't know do I because it wasn't! I doubt it.

EDG: Do you think similar courses should remain optional, or be compulsory for certain offenders, say, be part of a sentence, and be available in prison?

6: They should definitely be optional. You shouldn't force anyone to do anything. You should have them in prison but that should be your choice not some screw or teacher telling you what to do.

EDG: Do you think the courses could be a compulsory part of a sentence though, say for violent offenders?

6: No way. It don't matter what you've done you've got to have the choice. It has to be up to you if you want to do something or not do something.

EDG: Will you pursue drama activities outside this company?

6: Not at the moment. I'm happy with what I get from Insight. If they weren't offering courses anymore to me then I might go somewhere else, I don't know.

EDG: **Have you worked with any other drama companies in the past, in prison or within the community?**

6: There was some actors who came into prison and did some stuff but it wasn't any good.

EDG: **Do you remember the name of the company?**

6: No it was years ago. I couldn't even tell you which nick!

EDG: **Why wasn't it any good?**

6: Because they did this show yeah, and that was all right but then we had to do a workshop in the gym and they started asking us to do all this poncy stuff like, 'imagine you're a flower growing' or something and it was fucking stupid and you just felt like a right idiot. I just sat down and it ended up with nearly everyone sitting down or just standing there laughing. It was shit, nothing like the stuff Insight do.

EDG: **What did you feel about working in a group?**

6: I found it difficult at first but everyone was so nice and we was all in the same boat if you know what I mean so it was all right, you didn't feel embarrassed and that.

EDG: **Had you ever been involved in group work before?**

6: No – oh sort of once on a probation order. I had to go to an anger management group thing but that was like therapy stuff. It wasn't the same.

EDG: **Would you like to add any further comments?**

6: Like what?

EDG: **Anything you want to say?**

6: I don't know what to say now.

EDG: **That's all right. Thanks for doing this interview, it's been really helpful.**

6: So you're definitely not going to use my name or nothing?

EDG: Absolutely not. You'll be anonymous. I wont use your name or tell anyone I spoke to you. I'll give you a number. In fact, you're number six...

6: What, like the devil's number, 666!

EDG: No, just one six not three, and then I may quote some of the things you have said but only by your number. I'll use your answers along with the answers of everyone else I'm interviewing to see whether or not Drama Work with offenders is a good idea or not and why.

6: I hope you say it is. Say it's wicked mate!

EDG: I can put that as your opinion. You've already filled in one of my forms haven't you?

6: Yep.

EDG: Thanks again for coming and for all your help.

(End recording)

OFFENDER 23:

EDG: **Did your probation officer refer you to the project?**

7: No, I saw Clean Break inside. They come to do a play at Holloway and they was excellent and I got their details off my teacher in education when I was getting out so I could call them. Anyway, I calls them and they told me to drop by for a meeting to see if they could help me and then I started doing their drama.

EDG: **Why did you choose to attend the course?**

7: Like I said, because I see them inside and like what I see. I thought I could have some of that man!

EDG: **Why drama rather than another art form?**

7: Just 'cause their play was so good and anyway I'm shit at art and crafts and that. I hated that stuff in jail.

EDG: **What have you learnt from the process of Drama Work?**

7: Loads of things man! Since I've been doing drama, I feel a lot better about myself, more confident. When I was at school I'd never speak up in class. It was the same in prison if we had to talk about things in groups. But I can do it now. I'm not scared to say what I think and I feel like I can communicate better. Like I'm not scared of saying things. I used to think

people thought I was stupid, but I ain't stupid and I can say what I want, you know.

EDG: **Do you feel that the process of doing drama has had any affect on your offending behaviour?**

7: I don't know because I ain't offending no more!

EDG: **Why did you stop?**

7: Because I ain't going back to jail. My last sentence was four years and that might not sound like a long time man but believe, I ain't doing that again, before that it was like six months or three months and I could handle that but four years man, that is a long time.

EDG: **Has doing drama affected your offending in any other ways? Have you learned anything about your offending behaviour from doing drama?**

7: I don't know, maybe a bit. I've learned about me and maybe that makes me understand more about why I done them things.

EDG: **Will you continue to attend Drama Workshops at Clean Break?**

7: Oh yeah, I'm gonna do my GCSE with them in drama if they let me do it. You can take the exam there, like in a group. You have to make up a little play and that, and the

last group was wicked. They was so good, man, so I'm gonna do that.

EDG: **If the course had been compulsory, that is, part of your sentence or probation order, would you have attended with the same enthusiasm?**

7: No I don't like doing things that I have to do like in jail when they made you do stuff you don't wanna do and that like these courses, no not me.

EDG: **Do you think similar courses should remain optional, then?**

7: It has to be, you aint gonna get people doing things they don't wanna do. They is only going to resent it and be angry about it then you can't achieve nish.

EDG: **What about if drama was available in prison?**

7: It should be man, you'd get loads of people doing it, I'd have done it as long as the screws weren't running it man!

EDG: **Do you think the courses could be a compulsory part of a sentence though, say for violent offenders?**

7: It should for violent men because it could help them to stop you know, but I don't know if drama is best for that or some therapy group.

EDG: **Will you do any drama activities outside this company or look for the opportunity to?**

7: No just Clean Break. I don't need to go nowhere else.

EDG: Have you worked with any other drama companies in the past, in prison or within the community?

7: Just seeing that Clean Break play when they come into jail, that's it. I think there was a drama group at Holloway but I never got involved. I didn't think that drama was for me until I saw that play, yeah? After that I was hooked man!

EDG: What do you feel about working in a group?

7: It's good. You feel like you belong.

EDG: Had you ever been involved in group work before?

7: Only in jail in therapy stuff, but not drama.

EDG: **Would you like to add any further comments?**

7: Just to say that drama has really turned my life around yeah, like I've come out of myself. I used to be bored all the time and now I've got something to put my energy into so I don't hang around with the same people that get me into trouble and I got something to do that I like, something to work towards, like I might get the GCSE and then might do some other ones and get some qualifications. It all leads on to other situations, do you get what I'm saying? It's like drama is just the beginning and then there's other things to do, but I might be an actress and join the professional company and do plays in big theatres, I dunno.

EDG: **That's great. Thanks for doing this interview, it's been really helpful and as we discussed earlier, I won't use your name or tell anyone I spoke to you. I'll give you a number and use your responses that way.**

7: It's all right man whatever. Is that it then?

EDG: **Yes, that's it. Thanks again, you've been really helpful.**

(End recording)

OFFENDER 39:

EDG: **Were you referred to a drama group by you probation officer?**

39: I had to do it as part of my probation, anger management thing.

EDG: **Would you have chosen to attend if it wasn't compulsory?**

39: No. I hated it at first but it was all right after a while.

EDG: **Would you have preferred something else instead of drama?**

39: I only had two choices, that or some therapy group and that's not my cup of tea, I don't like talking about myself in front of loads of people.

EDG: **Did you have to talk about yourself in the drama anger management programme?**

39: Yes, but it was different. It wasn't so personal.

EDG: **What have you learnt from the process of Drama Work?**

39: Just stuff about controlling anger and reacting in different ways.

EDG: **Did you find that difficult?**

39: Yes, at first. But like I said, I got into it.

EDG: Do you feel that the programme had any affect on your offending behaviour?

39: I don't know.

EDG: Did it make you want to stop offending or has it not changed your offending at all, or something in-between?

39: I haven't done anything since but I made that decision. It wasn't nothing to do with the programme.

EDG: Have you learned anything about your offending behaviour from doing drama?

39: I've learned about my anger, I suppose, so I don't get so aggressive now, not like I used to.

EDG: Would you attend other Drama Workshops if they were available?

39: No.

EDG: Do you think similar courses should be optional, or be compulsory for certain offenders?

39: I suppose it should be compulsory for men that have a problem with anger so they can learn how to control it like I did.

EDG: **Do you think similar programmes should be available in prison.**

39: They are in some prisons. I know someone who did drama anger management in prison.

EDG: **Do you know the name of the company or person that ran the programme he took part in?**

39: Now you're asking me. I don't know. You could ask his probation officer, he might remember.

EDG: **Have you worked with any other drama companies in the past, in prison or within the community?**

39: We watched a play once in prison.

EDG: **Did you enjoy it?**

39: Yes, it was good. It was very funny. All about crime and stuff.

EDG: **Do you remember the name of the play or the company?**

39: No. I'm not very good at remembering names.

EDG: **When you were doing the programme, How did you feel about working in a group?**

39: It was all right but some of the men there were a bit weird and I felt uncomfortable with them, I don't think anyone really wanted to be there, so they were pissed off or didn't show up. So it was a bit weird.

EDG: Had you ever been involved in group work before?

39: No.

EDG: Do you think you learned anything from working in a group?

39: To listen to other people and what they had to say I suppose, not to just dismiss something because you think it's stupid.

EDG: Would you like to add any further comments?

39: No.

EDG: That's all right. Thanks for doing this interview, it's been very helpful talking to you. Just to let you know, I won't use your name or discuss our meeting with anyone. You will be anonymous. Oh you haven't filled in one of my forms have you? It's just so I can keep in touch with you. No one else will see the information. Also there's a bit there about your age group and what sort of criminal activity you were involved in. Do you mind filling it in for me? If there's anything you don't feel comfortable with, just say and you can leave it out.

39: No, that's all right, I don't mind as long as you don't use my name, otherwise they might come and nick me for the stuff I never got done for if I put it down here!

EDG: Don't worry, no one will ever see this form except me, I promise you.

39: I'm only joking.

(End recording)

APPENDIX 8

Personal details form filled in by interviewees 1-40.

It would be helpful if you could fill in the following personal details. Please remember you will remain anonymous. Your name and contact details will not be seen by anyone other than myself.

Name:
Address:
Telephone No:

Would you mind if I contact you in a year's time to see whether or not you are still involved in drama?

Age category: 16-20 Male/Female
21-25
26-30
31-35
36-40
41-50
51-60

Please tick one.

Would you describe yourself as Black, White, Mixed Race, Asian, European, Other?

Are you currently on probation or parole? (Please state which if any)

If yes, what was your last offence?

If no, when did you commit your last offence?

Can you briefly state the main type of offences committed in the past?

How long have you been offending?

APPENDIX 9

Practitioner Interview Transcript Sample

Extracts from interview with Saul Hewish of Acting Out Company, formally director of Geese Theatre Company GB, 22 January 1999, Islington, London.

EDG: You worked with Geese for a long time but can you tell me about the work you are doing now?

SH: Basically, I am freelance. I work on my own most of the time, but Acting Out Company exists when I do residencies or performances so what I do is I freelance people in. So Acting Out Company is really the residency side of the work, the straight theatre side, as straight as I ever get really. So since I started that I've been doing more stuff with young people and young people in care before they are getting into the system

EDG: Intervention then?

SH: Some of it is but also it's about using theatre as a way to give disenfranchised groups a voice and the idea, because in Geese the residency work certainly over here was always very much, it was really just process. I mean there'd be a show at the end of the week but that wasn't necessarily very high quality, shall we say artistically but when I worked in the States with John (Bergman) we used to do these residencies in San Francisco either in the Jail or there was a half way house we used to work in, and those were always really high profile public events, so in the jail we would sort of work with a group of guys for two weeks and at the end of it we would get all the guys to come out of the jail and then we'd turn the theatre into the jail, so there'd be prison deputies guarding it and then people would pay to come and see the shows and they were

always really extraordinary, because the performances were always really high quality and we worked like crazy on these things to get them really tight. But also the audiences were always really incredible because you'd get all the hardcore left-wing radicals and liberals come because it was prisoners doing theatre and then you'd get all the prisoners families and friends, and people off the street. So you'd get this huge debate and I never forget the first time I saw one of these, I wasn't actually doing the residency and it was actually in the prison itself and it's a mixed prison and they had women on one side of the audience, men on the other and there was a scene in this show where this guy is beating up this woman and there's two people having the argument and two people doing the fight and it was freaky because it wasn't so much the guys standing up on their chairs and whooping, this cheering on but it was the women cheering and clapping that really freaked me out. I thought, 'Oh my god this is scary.'

So you get, when you put it in a public environment you get that versus the sort of radicals who would be horrified so there was an incredible dynamic in the audience as well as on stage. So when I came back I wanted to do, to try and move the stuff that I was doing closer to higher quality, higher profile public events, but still working with process. So it did.. I've done a couple of projects now with young people in care which was essentially doing a show in order to give them a voice to social workers and social work managers and foster carer's as well as friends and other people and I'm going to be doing one later this year with young people in a place called Parkside which is on the end of Silverdale in Newcastle Under Lyme and the Silverdale colliery closed finally, completely last year so there's very high unemployment and Parkside there's just nothing there so they've got a lot of problems with just kids hanging around so the idea is they've been trying to set up a youth crime

forum there for a long time as part of regeneration and not had much success so they want me to go and direct a show with the kids. They've got this bus that's been sort of stripped and they've put sockets in there for doing computer classes and stuff like that and the idea is to do the show on tour on the bus so we'll do the show on the top deck of the double decker and invite small audiences to come and see it. I don't know how I'm going to do it!

EDG: Would you like the opportunity to do something like that with a prison group?

SH: Well, this is one of the things that we've kind of mooted with Swinfen which is to set up a prison company but then to have them tour to other prisons. I mean, ideally what I'd love is to be able to do something similar to the way we did in San Francisco, just to kind of take, to go to a big theatre and take it over but the kind of resource implications for the prison service are quite big, so...

EDG: If you were given the chance to devise a programme to be implemented in all British prisons what sort of programme would you devise? It's a bit like Swinfen really isn't it?

SH: Well, that's what we've done, Chris (Johnston) said let's just dream real big but, I think I would still go for setting up a long-term drama based pre-release programme like John managed to do in the States which was a kind of year-long, you have a special room which is the Lifting the Weight room and it's all about preparing for release but none of this doing two weeks rubbish. It's got to be at least a year. And moving on from that I suppose one of my dreams in terms of a community, could also work in an institution which is that you essentially have an expressive arts unit which is accessible by all inmates and it is a wide a range of arts as you can possibly get and it's not necessarily strict arts therapy but it's more

kind of like with a view to dealing with why you're in prison and with your stuff.

EDG: So tell me how the Swinfen project came about?

SH: It is such irony. The irony of it is in all the time I was with Geese over the years, we never got anywhere close to getting anything long term. At the moment me and Chris are sitting on the edge of a kind of pilot to do stuff in there and it's taken one letter before Christmas and we've had three meetings this month, yesterday was the last one. I've never been in a place where people are so desperate to spend money.

EDG: Where have they got this money from?

SH: Well it's government money and the money is half a million pounds to four Young Offenders Institutions, and it's to do this thing called regimes enhancement. Basically its extra money to try and make things better in prison so what they've done with Swinfen, what they're saying is that rather than trying to squeeze inmates into a prison programme which is what they normally do, they're trying to tailor programming towards the individual needs of the offender. So they've got much more flexible. Rather than, the classic is that you get a job and then you're doing laundry and that's all you do. Now what happens is you can get a job in the laundry but you can also go to education, you can go to programmes. I mean the prison service is obsessed with all the cognitive, the reasoning and rehabilitation stuff, which frankly is just cognitive skills. So what we did was, that we put, me and Chris said we've got a load of ideas and they went all right let's meet so we had to get some ideas! So we drew up six different just paragraphs really on some ideas and they loved all of them. So they want to go for an induction, something to go into their induction groups. Their induction groups are four weeks of guys sitting listening to prison officers talking at

them. So they want something to kind of liven it up. And also to do this thing which I've kind of put together which is, I just call it experiential testing. The idea is to take guys that have been through all the kind of prison-based programmes, maybe two or three months after they've finished and just do a sort of intensive three days of doing experiential tests with them to see how much of the stuff they've internalised. My suspicion is they won't have internalised anything. So to test it and then there's an opportunity to do some re-training.

They've flagged those two in particular, they want those and then Chris wants to set up a sort of longer term, Creativity and Learning module and we also discussed the possibility of setting up an on-going prison theatre company which could be like a sort of peer education project.

EDG: What sort of period are you talking about working over?

SH: We've put, the pilot we've put together is to do stuff on two of each of these inductions and testings. This will probably go over between four or five months. But that's just a pilot so what we're looking to do, and they are sort of talking about if it's good, then taking it all on a permanent basis. This money is allegedly there permanently. I mean I don't necessarily know that it is but they'll probably do two or three years and then evaluate it.

EDG: If that was successful then the whole thing could act as a pilot for other prisons.

SH: That's what they're saying. They're already talking to us going, yeah well if it works here, and obviously they want skills transfer so if they start taking it on which I think they probably will, some of it, then if it's good then there is the potential to tap in. If we really play it right then what I want to do is, I mean this thing we did yesterday

was more with some of the staff and we had some of the more, prison officers who want to do the work but prison officers are a bit more cynical than these liberals who are running the prison. When you do the work, whether you go in as performers or therapists the trick is to win over the prison officers. Once they understand and get a sense that you know what you're talking about and they recognise that, then they're up for it. I think one of the biggest problems that a lot of theatre companies have in terms of working in prisons initially, is overcoming the prejudice of being a theatre company. You kind of feel it much more in prisons because they are very conservative environments. The irony is that inmates are incredibly conservative at some level.

EDG: Because most of my work has been with Insight, particularly in prison, because we always go in with ex-offenders, it's slightly different because as soon as the guys know that, you get this kind of instant acceptance, of well if X hangs out with you, you must be all right. And I tend to go in playing this very working class role and 'I'm with X' and I seem to get accepted really, really easily. When I think of 'actors' going into a prison, without any training, I can't imagine it. I can't comprehend what it must be like.

SH: How they would survive.

EDG: I can't imagine the inmates even listening to them.

SH: Absolutely. I mean the advantage in Geese over here is that we started with seven years of the experience of the American company so all of the mechanics of working in an institution are all taken care of. We had a security protocol of three or four pages of A4. I mean it was very strict and we were very careful to adhere to it because we wanted to show the prison service that we knew about where we were working. We were there to do serious work. I think it's taken the prison service... they've finally arrived at this

idea that doing programming with prisoners around offending is something you should be doing. The quality of the programmes is questionable.

I think the other thing that is very strong if you're doing any treatment-based kind of therapy, it doesn't have to be therapy but any situation where you're talking about feelings, is that, men, particularly white men, have this terrible fear that if you're going to talk about feelings it's going to be really dangerous. If men are talking about feelings then they are going to be exploding and they are going to be all over the place and it is not true. But it is certainly at an administrative level, we used to get it all the time in America, and I've seen it over here as well, which is you get administrators and managers who say things like ' oh you've got to be really careful of stirring up these powerful emotions and you're going to leave them in a state' and that is very deeply ingrained. So when you start working with inmates or guys on probation you've still got the same thing. They know that they have got these feelings but they are not necessarily sure what they are and to talk about them would just be horrendous often because they don't have the language for it or because there is this fear that if they start talking about them there is going to be a terrible explosion. So part of what I've been doing in the last three or four years, is less of a focus on the purely cognitive, what you think, because I did that for a long time and it's only fifty percent of the process, actually working with guys to talk about feelings in a real way. A lot of the time you are just getting them to identify feelings and put names to them.

EDG: So since you've left Geese would you say that you've changed in terms of your techniques and methods or are you doing the same kind of work?

SH: It is a difficult question for me to answer because I am not sure what Geese are doing at the moment in terms of programme work and project work, but from what I know, I think because I spent two and a half years working with Bergman in the States and because he is a Dramatherapist, so a lot of what I am doing is more flexible in some ways.

EDG: Would you describe what you do as dramatherapy then?

SH: I would, but I can't call myself a Dramatherapist because I'm not qualified. I periodically think about doing the qualification but I think there are very tangible differences between working with offending populations, a lot of what I do with offenders I wouldn't dream of doing with non-offending populations because I'm not dealing necessarily with such high levels of defiance and denial. Obviously you deal with denial as a therapist with any person. The other paradox is that the normal situation where you are working as a therapist is that people come to you because they have already identified that they've got some sort of problem, where as with offenders, particularly on probation, you know what its like, They are there because they have to be there and they don't think they have a problem. The only problem they have is you because you are doing this stuff with them and getting them to talk about things.

EDG: In terms of Geese though, when you were their director, did they define the work as dramatherapy?

SH: I wouldn't have thought so, though Clark (Baim) has nearly finished his Psychodrama training now so he'll be a fully-qualified Psychodramatist, which takes about four or five years to get. I don't think so, I think they would be, I don't know what they would classify themselves as and I think it would vary from worker to worker. Some staff are more rigid in the way they approach things.

EDG: So do their staff come from an acting background then?

SH: Pretty much yes although they've just employed a guy who is a blacksmith! Apparently he's really good. A kind of theatre background is what they require, at least it was when I was running the company.

EDG: What about training? Are they trained within the company?

SH: When I was running it, there was a situation where we had a touring company and project workers but that's changed now. There isn't one touring company, which is exclusively that. There are project workers and then they come together to do performances. When we started doing project work it was all of us taking it on and as we expanded we employed people specifically to do project work, and they would get training, a sort of six months with the company and then they could go off and have their own contract. I think that's what they do now.

EDG: How long were you with Geese?

SH: From 1987 to 1994. I went to America in 1994 and was with Bergman until the middle of 1996.

EDG: Did you find the work out there very different?

SH: It was different in part because it was just John Bergman and he had had a touring company for ten years in the States and it got to the point where he was being asked to do so much other work that he couldn't really, the touring company was starting to break up in some ways. There were people that had been there a long time and wanted to move on. What he didn't do over there, which in retrospect, he probably should have done was either to create a franchise or find someone, who was in a sense like me over here, who was just in charge of the company and then he could just go in and do training etc. It was just John and he'd been working alone

for four years so when we started to work together it was a real opportunity for us both to learn a lot about each other as much as anything and we kind of pushed the work in all sorts of directions and tested the boundaries in a way that I could never have done over here. In the States you're working in environments in prisons where you would be working with inmates who are on treatment programmes for three years or four years, every day. You've got a whole team of therapists there and the brief is quite different. Some places it was like, come in and do whatever you might imagine you could do to open up some of these guys.

EDG: They sound a lot more open to the work than they are over here.

SH: Well it's America and America is culture of confession to some extent and the notion of a therapist or having a therapist is very normal which is very different to this country where there is still a lot of stigma attached to it. So that, combined with the American cultural thing about talking, means that you can go into a group of inmates and you could say one thing and suddenly the whole thing would just like open up, the guys would be talking about something, then you'd do this and it would lead to something else and you could work really fast. In part I think because of cultural issues. Working in New England was in some respects very similar to working over here. The actual values and beliefs that were held were very similar where as working out on the West Coast or working with African-American populations was completely different. We used to love going to work in San Francisco in terms of theatre work because we'd end up working with all the black guys who are really keen to get up and do stuff.

The prisons in Vermont, we used to work in the top security prisons there and I used to think it was like a Category C. I mean it was

secure but, you go to a different state like Missouri or Michigan and you go into a top security prison and you know you are in a top security prison, no messing around, very, very secure. Vermont has a very small prison system, Califomia is huge. In Michigan we worked in a prison, there were 4,000 inmates in this reformatory, a huge place, it was out in the middle of nowhere and I would have said ninety-five percent young black inmates in a very white area, all out of Detroit. If you go to Illinois the prisons are just run by the gangs. That's where Geese started out.

EDG: Do you think that some types of offending are more suited to Drama Work or Dramatherapy than other sorts of offending or do you think its something that can be adapted over the whole gamut?

SH: Because it's so wide in terms of what you can do I think it is applicable to all types of offences. I mean I've never worked with someone who I didn't think I could do something for although I actually find the prospect of going to do stuff around certain... I mean, responsible driving frankly fills me with complete boredom. Because I've specialised with working with sex offenders, really, and violent offenders I'm really interested in working with hardcore dangerous people.

EDG: Why?

SH: OK – there's a few reasons why. One, because I think that I can help them not do it if they want to not do it again. Also if I'm honest the thrill of being a detective is really exciting, and its also a risk because the danger is you get too much into kind of wanting to be the detective rather than wanting to help someone get through something and deal with some aspect of themselves. There's also a fascination for me, really about human beings, I mean, in the end, what I have leamed working with offenders helps me explain a lot of things that happen with non-offenders as well.

EDG: Do you find it difficult doing the kind of work that you do in the current climate with that sort of lock them up and throw away the key attitude?

SH: I do and I shout at the telly or the radio or the newspaper. I know that what we do has great validity. I know that because I've seen it and I also know that in a small way, a very small way its part of the constant need to keep people human, when we start demonising people then we're in trouble. I could get as angry about that as I could about what's happening in Kosovo.

EDG: Can you cite any major influences on your work, either in the form of companies, practitioners or movements?

SH: Well Geese Theatre Company obviously and Boal, but Bergman, Bergman is my chief influence because prior to that, prior to starting in Geese, I mean, I suppose the other influences or the things I was into before I started in Geese were, like anything to do with the late sixties, Gorilla Street Theatre, Living Theatre, Open Theatre, Agit Prop, so at 19 I was an anarchist and we're going to change the world and all that...

APPENDIX 10:

Insight Arts Trust Regular Drama Workshop at Camden House

Date: 6 June 1996

Facilitated by Emilia di Girolamo

10 participants

Transcript of recorded discussions

Di Girolamo:	Can you describe what you can see? What is 'John' (pseudonym) doing?
Participant 1:	He's hiding something in his jacket.
Participant 2:	It's a gun or something he's stolen.
Di Girolamo:	Which is it?
Participant 2:	A gun.
Participant 1:	Yeah, a gun.
Di Girolamo:	Why is he hiding it?
Participant 3:	He's about to pull it out on someone.
Participant 2:	It's loaded.
Di Girolamo:	Where is he?
Participant 4:	In a shop.
Participant 5:	He's holding up a shop.
Di Girolamo:	Why is he doing it?
Participant 2:	To get drug money.
Participant 6:	He's a smack addict.

(The group laugh)

Participant 7:	He needs the money for his fix. He hasn't had a fix for two days and he's going cold turkey.
Participant 2:	His girlfriend's at home waiting for him.

Participant 6: She's a junkie too and she's waiting on a fix.

Di Girolamo: Let's put a shop assistant in, any volunteers?

(One of the men gets up and assumes a still freeze as a shop assistant)

Di Girolamo: Is there anyone else in the shop?

Participant 2: A woman with a baby.

Di Girolamo: Volunteer?

(One of the women gets up and takes on the role of a shopper clutching her baby to her in fear as the armed robber gets ready to pull his gun out.)

Participant 5: Maybe she gets hurt, shot or something.

Participant 8: Yeah, she tries to stop him.

Di Girolamo: All right, we've now got quite a scene. Let's give them names and personal histories.

Participant 5: The gunman's called Mark.

Di Girolamo: How old is he?

Participant 5: Seventeen. He's a smacky.

Di Girolamo: What's he doing at the shop?

Participant 4: Holding it up. He needs money for drugs.

Participant 3: He probably has a girlfriend who does smack too.

Di Girolamo: What's her name?

Participant 2: Sue.

Di Girolamo: All right. Mark and Sue. They're smack addicts and they need money for drugs. What about the shopper? Who is she?

Participant 5: She's called Mary. She's gone to buy milk and biscuits for her baby.

Di Girolamo: What's the baby called?

Participant 5: Danny.

Di Girolamo: Has she got any other kids?

Participant 2: Yeah, a little girl.

Di Girolamo: How old is she?

Participant 2: Twelve.

Di Girolamo: What about the shop keeper? Who is he?

Participant 4: Donald!

(The group laugh)

Di Girolamo: OK. Tell me about Donald and his shop.

Participant 5: It's on a rough estate in Tottenham. He keeps getting robbed and he's trying to keep his business going like. He's getting on a bit, middle aged.

Di Girolamo: Has he got any kids? A wife?

Participant 2: Yeah. He's married with grown up kids.

Di Girolamo: All right. That's lots of detail. Let's improvise the scene now, in real time. Let's see what happens.

(The scene is played out. Donald tries to fight off Mark and Mary tries to grab the gun. In the struggle, Mary is shot and seriously injured.)

Di Girolamo: Good. That was great. Let's think about what happened in the shop. Let's think about the consequences for the people involved. What will happen to Mary? Does she die?

Participant 5: She doesn't die. She's disabled though.

Di Girolamo: What does Mark do when she is lying wounded on the floor? Did he expect to shoot someone?

Participant 5: No, he didn't expect to shoot anyone. Maybe he goes over to her and then panics.

Di Girolamo: Does he get the money and go home?

Participant 4: Yeah.

Participant 2: No, he fucks it up. He can't get the money.

Di Girolamo: Do the police catch him?

Participant 4: No, he gets away with it.

Participant 2: No way. He gets caught man.

Di Girolamo: Let's split off into groups and construct a scene about what happens next. Try to think of all the possible outcomes and we'll see what happens.

(Recording stopped as groups plan scenes and demonstrate the scenes. Recording started again for discussion.)

Di Girolamo: Excellent. That was really good. Who was most affected by the robbery? Who got hurt?

Participant 5: Donald because his shop was bust up again and Mary because she got shot.

Participant 3: Donald never got hurt. He was all right.

Di Girolamo: So does 'hurt' only refer to a physical state?

Participant 3: Yes. He didn't get shot.

Di Girolamo: But does that mean he wasn't hurt?

Participant 3: Yeah.

Participant 5: But he was really shaken up.

Participant 6: Yeah, he was distressed by it all.

Di Girolamo: So maybe in a way he was hurt. It must be very frightening to have a gun pointed at you. Don't you think?

Participant 3: I suppose so.

Participant 5: He might have nightmares after and that.

Participant 7: Like post-traumatic stress disorder or something.

Di Girolamo: So Mark's actions may not hurt him physically but they do hurt him emotionally?

Participant 5: Yes.

Participant 6: Yeah, I agree.

Di Girolamo: Who else agrees?

(All but one participant agrees)

Di Girolamo: You don't agree?

Participant 2: No. It's happened to him loads of times. That's what happens when you've got a shop in a rough area.

Di Girolamo: If something horrid happens to you more than once, does that stop it being horrid?

Participant 2: I suppose not.

Di Girolamo: Do you think when he opened his shop all those years ago he expected to be robbed at gunpoint.

Participant 2: But he (Mark) never got no money.

Di Girolamo: No, but he scared Donald didn't he?

Participant 2: That's part of the job. That's what you do when you're on an armed blagg – you scare people.

Di Girolamo: Do you see that being scared is like being hurt? That Donald is still a victim?

Participant 2: I don't know. Yeah, I guess so.

Di Girolamo: OK. Let's play it again and this time you (participant 2) play Mark, the armed robber.

(The scene is played out. Participant 2 plays the scene out with remarkable authenticity. The group applaud him when the scene is finished.)

Di Girolamo: All right, now I want you (Participant 2) to sit facing Donald. I want Donald to tell Mark how he felt during the robbery. What it was like to be a victim.

Donald: It was awful. I was so scared. I was worried about my wife at home waiting for me after work. I thought I might never see her again. It took me years to get the money to have my own business and you just walk in like that with a gun. I was terrified.

Mark: But I never shot you or nothing.

Donald: I was still scared. I thought you would. You made me get down on the floor and I was terrified I'd die.

Di Girolamo: Good. How do you (Participant 2) feel now? Can you see how upset Donald is?

Participant 2: Yeah, all right. He was hurt a bit but he'll get over it.

Di Girolamo: Maybe he will. Maybe he won't. I want you (participant 2) to play Donald. Let's do it again. Can we have our original Mark please?

(They play out the scene again)

Di Girolamo: How did that feel? What was it like to be Donald?

Participant 2: It was pretty scary. I'm glad he didn't have a real gun because he was a right psycho! All right, I get the point now, I agree with you lot!

Di Girolamo: OK good work. You've all done brilliantly. There was some lovely improvisation there, nice character work. Do you see how important it is to discuss what we see because we all see things differently? We can do more of this next week. Let's finish up with some games.

(End of recording. Several games are played and the session is closed.)

NB: Recording Drama Work sessions is very rare due to the nature of the work. On this occasion the participants agreed to be recorded during discussions providing they retained anonymity but asked not to be recorded while acting or improvising which they felt embarrassed about.

APPENDIX 11

Diary extracts

Example of diary notes made after participant observation session.

DATE: 15.06.95
TIME: 2.00 PM
LOCATION: LONDON
GROUP: 8 ex-offenders.
SESSION: 1
CO-WORKERS: NONE
THEMES: GENERAL/ ADDRESSING BEHAVIOUR

EXERCISES:

1: DISCUSSION:
Why attending drama group, expectations, likes and dislikes, why drama, what we will be doing?

2: WORKSHOP:
General low-level drama exercises, get to know each other games, game playing, image making, easy improvisation, move on to structured group improvisations.

POST SESSION NOTES:

The majority of the group seemed keen and enthusiastic at the prospect of Drama Work. Two men who were close friends did not seem as interested in the drama as they were in one of the female group members. They did not follow instructions for exercises, talked loudly when other group members were talking and were generally difficult to manage. They seemed to have a problem with being told what to do by a woman. I tried to combat this by choosing games that they might take to more readily. I used competitive, sports-based games. The men began to compete and enjoy the games and seemed to forget about pursuing the female group member or dismissing me.

When I moved on to a less competitive game, I felt I had their attention and once we started partner-based exercises and the pair were split up, their behaviour improved dramatically. I complemented one of the men on

his skill.in mirroring his partner and picked the pair out to demonstrate to the group. This seemed to get him on my side and the workshop progressed smoothly.

The group produced some excellent improvisations and the main themes that emerged were drug or poverty-related crime. The majority of the group seemed to take a Robin Hood approach, that it was all right to steal if you were living in poverty. A discussion followed where one of the men presented an argument that 'rich people could afford to replace stuff on the insurance' so it was OK to steal from them to feed your own family. The discussion developed and I attempted to make the man understand some of the implications for the family that were stolen from as well as for the thief. I used some improvisational exercises to explore these implications which took up the last twenty minutes of the session. I promised we would return to these themes in the next session.

On the whole, the group was easy to work with once I had dealt with the difficulties caused by the two male friends. I was slightly concerned on a number of occasions that one of the female group members felt uncomfortable around one of the male friends. I spoke to her after the session and she said she was fine but I felt it was something I might have to keep a close eye on in subsequent sessions.

I closed the session with the group tangle exercise, which the group seemed to enjoy.

As I was leaving one of the men asked when we would be 'doing proper drama'. I asked him what he meant by 'proper drama' and he replied, 'You know using scripts and that, acting them out'. I explained to him that it was not a script-based course but we may use some in later sessions but that, before then, we needed to develop drama skills and learn the language. He said he understood and we chatted briefly about when the next session was. He asked if I was going to the pub with the rest of the group and I said that I couldn't this week as I had a prior engagement but I would try to the following week. Notes made in car immediately after workshop.

Example of diary notes made after participant observation session.

DATE: 31.08.94
TIME: 8.45 am – 11.15 am
PRISON: HMP Lewes
LOCATION: Education Block
GROUP: 17, mixture of remand and convicted men
SESSION: 2
CO-WORKERS: Stephen Langridge (director), Jackie Wulduck (Musician), Melanie Pappenheim (singer), Samantha Mason (Musician), Katie Tearle, Rachel Dominy (Glyndebourne), Stephen Plaice (HMP Lewes)
THEMES: To devise musical theatre performance of Beowulf

EXERCISES:

1: DISCUSSION:
Stephen reminded everyone about the story of Beowulf and what we were working towards, a showing on Friday September 2nd, 1994, to an invited audience of prison officials, inmates, staff, including the Governor. We split into four smaller groups to begin devising separate components of the story.

2: WORKSHOP and SESSION NOTES:
Melanie Pappenheim and I took a group and began working on our section, a funeral. We had some large sticks, which we thought we could use in a ritualistic dance to go with the song Melanie had been devising with some of the men. Melanie taught the rest of the group the song and we began devising the dance that would accompany it. The men were fully absorbed in the activity and seemed very keen on performing. There were no big problems. There was a slight difficulty over language as several of the men in our group were Turkish and could not speak English at all. We discovered one of the men could and he then translated which solved the problem.

We discovered that a huge array of different languages were spoken by the group and Stephen Langridge decided to turn this into an advantage, to take one word and use that word in the 17 different languages available to us. This seemed to work very successfully and all the groups came together to work on the song that would employ this technique.

We watched each group's section and then the men were called away for lunch. We went to the pub and had a team meeting to discuss what to do next. Stephen Langridge suggested we get out the percussion instruments that afternoon and complete the song with the different languages in.

There was a brief discussion between myself and another team member about one of the remand prisoners in my group who I was getting on with well. The other group member told me of his offence. It was a notorious case and I had not realised the identity of the man until that moment. I tried to put the details from my mind so that I could continue working with the man without any ill effect. I did not find it very difficult to disassociate as we had established a good working relationship and the man was not convicted but simply remanded and therefore quite possibly innocent. I did feel slightly uneasy because the nature of the crime was so extreme but feel I did not let it affect my working relationship with him.

APPENDIX 12

Raw data, in the form of grouped responses, from 40 interviews with offenders 1-40, who were attending or had attended drama-based courses.

Q1: Referral: Were you referred to the project by your probation officer:

Voluntary	35
Compulsory	5
Referred by probation officer	10
In prison	12
Found course themselves through other means	13

Q2: Why did you choose to attend the course if it was not compulsory?

Told about by probation officer and liked the sound of it	10
Saw a poster at a probation hostel or other venue	8
Heard about it from another person	5
Heard about or saw the company while in prison	2
Something to do	7
Don't know	3

Q3: Why drama rather than another art form?

Did other art courses as well	6
Liked drama at school and wanted to pursue	5
Was motivated by information about the course	11
Had ambitions to act or perform professionally	4
Don't know	9

Q4: What have you learned from the process of Drama Work?

Increased understanding of self	36
Understanding of other's behaviour	28
Identified and subsequently understood patterns of behaviour	32
Understanding of other people's feelings	21
Made good friends	14
Mixing with others successfully, being a good group member	37
Boosted confidence	39
Improved communication skills	35
Improved concentration	12

Provided a channel for creativity	36

Q5: Do you feel the process has had any affect on your offending behaviour?

Recognition of self-defeating behaviour	28
Understanding of own offending behaviour	24
Alleviates boredom and lessens chances of offending	32
Played a part in stopping offending and going straight	34

Q6: Will you continue to attend Drama Workshops?

Yes	31
No	5
Don't know	4

Q7: If the course had been compulsory, part of your sentence or probation order, would you have attended with the same enthusiasm?

Yes	2
No	28
Don't know	5

(5 attended on a compulsory basis)

Q8: Do you think similar courses should,

Remain optional	38
Be compulsory for certain types of offenders	2
Be part of a sentence	2
Be available in prison	32
Groups should have similar offending histories	2
Compulsory for violent offenders	2
Best for offenders with communication difficulties	24
Suitable for all ex-offenders if voluntary	36
Not suitable for sex offenders	7
Don't know who it's suitable for	4

Q9: Will you pursue drama activities outside of this company?

No, happy with company	27
Yes, with another company	1

Possibly in the future	5
Don't know	5
Will not be doing drama again	2

Q10: Which company, if any, are you working with at present (or have worked with in the past)?

Insight Arts Trust	10
Clean Break	6
Geese	5
Glyndebourne Education	3
TIPP Centre	4
Workshops/courses by un-identified companies in prison	12

APPENDIX 13

Raw data, in the form of grouped responses, from 15 Questionnaire Respondents, Offenders A-O, who had attended drama-based courses.

1: Company running project you have attended.

Geese Theatre Company	5
Insight Arts Trust	5
Clean Break	5

2: Did you attend this course voluntarily or as part of a court/probation order?

Voluntarily	10
Part of probation order	5

3: If voluntarily, why?

Interested in drama	8
Something to do	1
Don't remember	1

4: Did you find out about it from your probation officer?

Yes	8
From a poster	2
Don't remember	4
Other source	1

6: Has the programme affected you as a person? If so how?

More confident	5
Improved communication skills	8
More creative	2
Raised self-esteem	3
No effect at all	1

7: Has the programme affected your attitude towards offending? If so how?

Determined to stop offending	5
Improved understanding of past offending	8
No affect at all	1

8: Would you attend further drama projects or workshops voluntarily?

Yes	12
No	3

9:Do you think similar drama projects should be made available in prison?

Yes	11
No	3
Don't know	1

10:Do you think similar drama projects should be made available to all probation clients?

Yes	11
No	3
Don't know	1

11: Do you think Drama Work may be more suitable for some offenders rather than others, dependent on what sort of offences they have committed?

Yes	5
No	3
Don't know	7

12: What was the best thing about the work?

Meeting new people who were like-minded	8
Working in a group	4
Dealing with issues	2
Don't know	1

13: What was the worst thing about the work?

Talking about personal issues	5
The course was too short	3
No answer	7

14: Do you think the workshops have had any effect on your offending behaviour?

Yes	8
No	1
Don't know	6

APPENDIX 14:

Client case Study

In the following case study the names have been changed to protect the identity of those involved. The correct names are held on file.

Floyd was born on 28 November 1973 in the Gambia. His mother was unmarried and his father was unknown to him until later life. Less than a year old, Floyd's mother left him to be raised by her elder brother and his wife while she sought a new life in England. Floyd lived with his aunt and uncle between 1974 and 1979 in Free Town, Sierra Leone. Floyd believed the couple were his natural parents and addressed them accordingly. No explanation of the circumstances was ever offered to him. In 1979 Floyd was returned to his mother, whom he thought to be his aunt, in England. He recalls asking to be returned to his mum and dad in Sierra Leone.

Floyd's mother had remarried and he found it difficult to adjust to a new country, culture and family. His inability to feel any sense of security was further compounded by the family moving around a great deal and Floyd changing schools many times. His stepfather was violent to both his mother and to Floyd and fights were a frequent occurrence. In 1980 Floyd's mother gave birth to a second child, a baby girl. In 1982, at the age of nine, fuelled by the increasingly frequent fights between Floyd and his stepfather, Floyd's mother sent him back to his aunt and uncle, now living in the Gambia as a result of political circumstance.

Floyd stayed there until 1985 but circumstances had changed dramatically. Floyd no longer thought of the couple as his parents and

called them aunt and uncle instead. He no longer felt that he belonged with them. He finished primary school and attended the first year of secondary school and then after continuous complaints about how unhappy he was, Floyd's mother once again sent for him, now aged twelve.

Returning to Kent, to live with his mother and violent stepfather did little to increase Floyd's desperate need of stability. The family moved to South East Lewisham and Floyd settled into school. In 1986, Floyd's mother and stepfather separated and Floyd felt he might finally have the stability and family life he craved. He moved with his mother and sister to a new house in Abbey Wood, an hour-and-a-half travelling time from his school. Floyd's mother struggled to bring up the two children on her own and within a short space of time formed another relationship with a man called Mick. The children were told that Mick was a lodger. Floyd got on well with Mick who was very different to his mother's previous partner.

As Floyd got towards the end of his schooling a new boy, Calvin transferred to his school. Calvin, a West Indian, was a year older than Floyd but was repeating the final year. Calvin and Floyd soon became good friends and began to hang around together late into the evening. They both had part-time jobs but their erratic attendance lead to dismissal and soon both boys were wondering the streets in need of money. Calvin introduced Floyd to a new way of making money, stealing car radios. He also introduced Floyd to a drug far more powerful than the cannabis he and other school friends had toyed with, heroin. Floyd finished school in 1990, managing to achieve five GCSE's at good grades despite his patchy schooling. His mother wanted him to attend sixth form and take A' Levels so Floyd followed her advice and enrolled. He was more interested in the scene Calvin introduced him to than in his schoolwork, a scene where the two boys smoked heroin and hung around the streets late at night. The school eventually wrote to Floyd's mother about his lack of attendance.

The relationship between Floyd and his mother deteriorated and resulted in his being thrown out of home.

With nowhere to live Calvin came to the rescue and the two boys moved into Calvin's grandfather's house in New Cross. Calvin found a job at Domino's Pizza, a pizza delivery firm, delivering pizzas in the evenings and Floyd managed to get the same job at another branch. Calvin's grandfather who was recovering from a stroke was not happy about the two wayward boys living in his house, and after a few weeks, asked them to leave. With no-where to live Floyd went to Social Services and asked for help. They said at 16 he was too old for them to offer any help. He was too young to get help from the Benefit Agency. He was referred to Stop Over, a four-week temporary housing charity who offered him a room if Social Services would provide a reference. They did and Floyd moved into the room. After the four weeks were up Stop Over moved him and four other boys to Stockwell YMCA until more permanent housing could be found.

Floyd stayed at the YMCA for five months. There he associated with the five boys he had met at Stop Over. Floyd became heavily absorbed in drug culture, waking up late in the afternoon, sitting around with friends smoking cannabis, walking the streets at night, getting into trouble and starting the cycle again the next day. Away from Calvin's influence, he did however, steer clear of heroin during this period. After a series of thefts and fights at the YMCA, Floyd and his associates were forced to leave. A week before Floyd was asked to leave the YMCA he had bumped into his old associate, Calvin, also kicked out of home and living at his aunt's house. He mentioned that if Floyd needed a place to stay there was a room for him there. Floyd declined, happy with his YMCA room but when the YMCA asked him to leave, Calvin's offer sounded very inviting.

Floyd moved in with Calvin and found himself once again involved in taking hardcore drugs and committing serious crimes: Taking heroin again meant an increased need for money to fund the habit and Calvin had learned new skills since the days of stealing car radios. When Calvin was sacked from his job a few weeks after Floyd moved in with him, the two teenagers decided not to bother finding work. Instead Calvin suggested they commit burglaries. The money they made from burgling houses was quickly wasted on heroin. Calvin's aunt soon grew tired of the behaviour of the two drug addicts living in her house and she told them they must go.

Calvin's mother worked for a housing association and she helped the teenagers to get into Greenwich Housing Association. The boys were housed in a long stay hostel where they hung around with a group of much older men, many of them ex-offenders. The older men introduced them to a new scene, the nightclubs in the West End. They also introduced the boys to new drugs, the dance drug ecstasy, cocaine, crack and speed-balling, a mixture of heroin and crack cocaine. Floyd became interested in guns around this time and, at his instigation, he and Calvin used imitation firearms to commit two armed robberies. During this period the burglaries continued along with a series of muggings. Floyd, now injecting, overdosed on heroin on two occasions and very nearly died.

Floyd became dissatisfied with his existence and decided he wanted to return to education, to enrol at Lewisham College and study for A Levels. He and Calvin planned one final armed raid, which Floyd felt would fund his new life. They planned to raid the cinema where Floyd had had his first part-time job and where Calvin's uncle worked. The two teenagers did the armed raid successfully and walked away with £2,000 each. Instead of funding a new life, Floyd and Calvin continued to fund their drug habits and quickly spent the money. Around this time, Floyd was stopped and searched by a police officer and naively allowed them to search his

room. There they found stolen items and counterfeit money. Floyd was told to attend the police station at a later date. Having previously been found in possession of an imitation firearm Floyd was scared that his liberty would soon be taken away. With the drug habits fuelling Calvin and Floyd to commit increasingly dangerous acts, and the police getting closer every time, they decided that they would leave the country. With just £500 each left from the cinema raid, the two teenagers bought tickets to the United States, where Calvin had family.

The teenagers decided they would commit one last offence in order to get the money they needed for their new life in America. An armed raid on a bookmakers shop was planned for Thursday with the tickets to the USA booked for Saturday. The boys had inside information and were certain they could carry out the offence successfully. During this period neither Floyd nor Calvin were thinking clearly. Floyd did not even have a passport and therefore leaving the country would have been impossible. In an attempt to get a passport Floyd went to Petit France, on the Thursday, with the only documents he had. He waited for several hours and was eventually told that he needed his birth certificate. Floyd immediately travelled to his mother's house in Abbey Wood to get the documents he needed. He had not seen his mother for over a year and was deeply upset when she didn't ask where he was living or how he was.

Feeling angry and upset Floyd returned to meet Calvin, in order to carry out the armed raid. The getaway car had broken down in central London leaving Calvin to travel by tube, and having trekked between Petit France and Abbey Wood, Floyd was late for the meeting. Realising it was far too late to commit the planned offence, but just as desperate for money, the boys decided to rethink their plans. Neither of them were thinking straight. They decided to rob Domino Pizza where Calvin had worked some time before and knew the lay out. They still did not have a car and it was early evening. The raid was planned for around 11.00 pm, several hours away.

So the two boys returned home and spent the next few hours 'getting wasted', taking heroin.

They decided they needed a third person to commit the offence with and Floyd approached Dave, a friend he had worked with before. With the drugs taking effect and a feeling of desperation prevailing, the boys approached the raid without any clear plan. They climbed over a wall at the back of the pizza place. Dave carried a bag for the money, Calvin carried shoe laces to tie up the staff and Floyd carried the gun – another imitation firearm. As a member of staff brought his bike around to the back, the back door was left open. The boys seized this opportunity to enter the premises and hide in the staff toilet. The member of staff saw something move through the glass window of the toilet and realised there was someone in there. He went back inside and called the police.

Cramped in the toilet Floyd began to feel sick, a result of the heroin he had recently taken. They decided the time was right and ran out of the toilets to find five members of staff rather than the two they expected. Using the gun to 'control the situation' they managed to tie up the staff and get the money. Although Floyd's memories of the offence are sketchy (mainly due to his drug intake that night) he does recall hitting the manager over the head with the gun causing a serious injury. Having taken the money the boys ran out of the back door again and into the street, Floyd last of all. As they entered the street Floyd realised they did not have a plan and no arrangements had been made for after the raid.

As Floyd saw Calvin and Dave disappear across the road with the money he heard a car engine revving from behind him and saw the sudden flash of blue lights. Floyd ran down Catford High Road away from the police car, which followed in hot pursuit and screeched to a halt in front of Floyd, blocking his path. He noticed the police officer in the passenger seat making movements to get out of the car and instinctively he raised the gun

towards the police officer and heard him call out, 'He's got a gun'. Floyd ran away from the car as fast as he could, feeling sick again as a result of the heroin. Floyd realised there were now two police cars chasing him down Catford High Road. He turned of the main road quickly and ran down a side street. As he reached the end of the street, he saw that one of the police cars had gone ahead and cut him off. He turned to run in the direction he had come from and the other police car was right there.

Trapped with no way of escaping Floyd gave himself up. He was struck over the head with a truncheon and pulled into the car. After a hospital check for concussion, Floyd was taken to the local police station where he initially lied about his age. He pretended to be under sixteen and gave the police an address, which he claimed was his home address. They took him to the house, which was in fact a house Calvin and Floyd had hung out at taking heroin or crack. The woman who lived there, an associate of Floyd's, had a child and was not prepared to lie for Floyd. She claimed that she did not know him at all and he was taken back to the police station.

By the following afternoon, CID had been to Floyd's house. They knew the whole story, about Floyd and Calvin, that Calvin had worked at Domino's Pizza and that they were both involved in the raid. Floyd was charged with robbery, possession of an imitation firearm, possession of an imitation firearm with intent. Floyd was sent to HMYOI Feltham on remand on the following Saturday. As he entered the gates at Feltham, Calvin's plane took off for the USA.

Floyd was shocked by prison. He had no idea what it would be like and he had no intention of settling down to do his time quietly. Dave had also got away with the offence but the police knew nothing about his part in events so he visited Floyd at Feltham. The teenagers hatched a plan. Dave would bring some clothes in for Floyd and stitched into the hem of a

coat would be a piece of diamond wire, a type of wire used to cut through metal. With his escape planned Floyd saw no point in telling his mother he had been locked up but after a month she heard from one of Calvin's relatives that Floyd was in Feltham.

Floyd was due to attend court so the case could be turned over to Crown Court the next day, and he was told by an officer that his mother would be there. He stood in the dock unable to look her in the eyes. A few weeks later his mother visited him on remand. She greeted him warmly and offered her help, which was exactly what Floyd needed from her. She offered to get Floyd a decent solicitor rather than the duty solicitor he had up to that point. She brought him new clothes and began to write to him regularly. His sister also began to write.

Floyd did not know anyone on his wing. The majority of the inmates were from South West or North London and had not even heard of Catford or Lewisham. Because of this Floyd kept himself to himself and did not have a gang of friends within the prison. A few months into his remand, around Christmas, Calvin retumed to London. He had begun to take drugs again in the USA and had quickly grown bored. He was arrested within a week of his return and sent to Feltham on remand. Floyd heard he was there and looking out for him. When he eventually got to speak to Calvin he was pleased but also shocked that the boy had squandered the opportunity of a new life in the States.

Floyd had been alone at Feltham for four months. In that time he had abandoned his plan of escaping and tried to settle down. He had begun to read 'Crime and Punishment', he had stopped taking drugs and was keeping out of trouble. Calvin's retum was difficult for Floyd. He knew that having a friend from 'street', a sidekick made you somebody but he also knew that he had been given a chance to straighten out. Floyd was determined that Calvin would not lead him astray again. He did associate

with the boy but made sure that he kept out of trouble. He had just two months to go until the trial in February where Calvin would also be tried.

The two boys went to trial on a Monday and stood together for the pleas. Floyd pleaded guilty and was taken away to HMP Brixton to await sentencing. Calvin pleaded not guilty and stayed to be tried. On Friday Floyd was brought back to court, Middlesex Guild Hall in Westminster, and taken into a holding cell by his solicitor. There he was told that Calvin had been found not guilty due to lack of evidence. He was then lead into court where he saw his mother and the rest of his family sitting at the back. Aged just 17, Floyd was sentenced to ten years imprisonment; five years for robbery, two years for possession of a firearm and three years for possession of a fire arm with intent. The three sentences were to run concurrently which meant he would serve five years in prison minus the time he had spent on remand. Floyd did not understand this and thought he was to serve the full ten years.

When he realised that he would serve five years he decided that he should keep his head down and do his time without trouble. Initially he was sent to Rochester and then given a choice between HMYOI Feltham and HMYOI Aylesbury. He chose Feltham. While on remand, Floyd had been roped into attending education by another inmate. The inmate had been attending education simply because there was an attractive drama teacher there. When Floyd attended, he discovered that a new teacher, Antonia was taking over. Antonia saw Floyd writing a letter and realised that he was not illiterate like so many of the boys there. She talked to Floyd about education and discovered that he had some GCSE's. When Floyd returned to Feltham as a convicted prisoner he went to see Antonia again to discuss the possibilities available to him.

Antonia referred Floyd to the English teacher at Feltham. Floyd asked if he could take A' Level English Literature as he already had GCSE English,

which was all they had on offer. No one had ever taken A' Levels there before but the English teacher told Floyd it was possible. Together they examined the syllabus and Floyd was able to choose which books he would read. He embarked upon A' Level English Literature. He also worked as a sports orderly in the gym and would spend his evenings locked up in his cell reading or writing essays.

It was 1992 and Floyd's earliest date of release was 1995. Although he had settled in well, there were times when Floyd became depressed by the prospect of being locked up for so long. Floyd saw other inmates lose control, smashing up their cells. He witnessed a riot start between the white and black inmates. He saw a great deal of bullying and was aware of several suicides committed by victims of bullying at the prison. Floyd found it difficult to remain strong and keep hold of his sense of identity within the system. When Floyd became depressed and refused to leave his cell, staff became concerned. He had such a good reputation for his behaviour, work and education that the staff wanted to help. With the support of the staff Floyd got a new job as Inmate Activities Co-ordinator. He became a blue-band, which gave him special privileges. He was able to move around the prison more freely. Floyd decided that he wanted to leave the wing, which had become the home of several very nasty bullies.

Floyd was moved to Albatross Wing, which was far more relaxed. The boys were able to paint their cells, have carpets and Floyd took advantage of this and decorated his cell. He was given access to a computer on the new wing and typed up a long essay on how he saw the future of the penal system. He went jogging in the mornings and took part in a BT Swimathon. Floyd gained a D for his A' Level English and became absorbed in the wing activities including day trips and Duke of Edinburgh Awards. His excellent behaviour was recognised by the staff and the governor. Chaperoned by a prison officer Floyd was allowed to attend his mother's 40th birthday party.

A few months later, Floyd was called for by an officer and taken to a room. There he met a probation officer who told him that as a result of his good behaviour he was to be released early and he was given a parole date, just two months away. Although he was pleased Floyd found the last two months very difficult. Time seemed to pass slower than ever before. Having resigned himself to a five-year sentence, Floyd was not prepared to face the outside world after just three years.

Paul Robinson, the officer who had escorted Floyd on his trip to his mother's birthday party, decided he would produce a talent show in the prison. In an attempt to distract him from his impending release, he asked Floyd to take part. Floyd decided to do some comedy improvisations, having enjoyed drama at school. When it came to the day there were ten acts and the six before Floyd were all singers, leaving the audience desperate for something different. When Floyd began his comedy improvisation, based on prison life, the audience found it very funny. The audience applauded loudly, laughing at Floyd's comic skills and he discovered a feeling he had never had before, the buzz of being appreciated by an audience. Floyd won first place. The show was videoed and then played back to all the inmates on the wings who had not seen the show in person. In the next few days Floyd found himself being congratulated by people he had never met. Antonia had seen the video too and made a special effort to talk to Floyd about what she saw as a hidden talent. She suggested that on his release he contact Chris Johnston of Insight Arts Trust.

Floyd wrote to Chris Johnston and soon received a reply suggesting a visit on his release. Two weeks after his release, Floyd attended the informal Thursday night drama sessions run by Insight Arts Trust at Camden House. When he released that much of the work was based on improvisation he became very interested and soon became a regular

member of the group. While attending weekly workshops he also enrolled at Lewisham College where he intended to re-sit his A' Level English in an attempt to get a higher grade and also take two other A' Levels, Sociology and Government and Politics. He also found a room in Greenwich. Floyd was determined to make a go of things, to go straight and keep away from his old friends and old drug habits. In particular, he intended to keep away from Calvin.

He made new friends at Insight Arts Trust, other ex-offenders determined to go straight. Through Insight, Floyd was cast in a film, 'Change of Heart', and experienced professional acting work for the first time. Chris Johnston asked Floyd to be in the Insight Christmas pantomime and alongside other ex-offenders he performed to audiences and thoroughly enjoyed himself. Floyd then moved into his own flat and continued his college education. Having proved himself in the pantomime Chris Johnston offered Floyd his first professional theatre job, 'The Anger Dyes'. Floyd agreed and joined the team of ex-offenders and Drama Workers. The play toured prison and probation venues nationally and workshopped issues raised by the performance with inmates. Floyd enjoyed the tour, even returning to HMYOI Feltham to perform in the play. The play then began a four-week run at a London fringe venue where Floyd was the star of all of the reviews, playing a comic character, a heroin addict.

Following 'The Anger Dyes' Floyd was offered another professional theatre job, this time nothing to do with ex-offenders. He performed in 'The Day The Bronx Died' at the Tricycle Theatre and received excellent reviews. He then got a professional agent and embarked on an acting career, working on another film and an episode of 'The Bill'. He did another tour with Insight, 'Dear John', which again toured prisons and probation venues. Floyd later performed with Insight again at the 'Second European Crime Conference' in Manchester.

Floyd finished his A' Levels, passing them all and decided to move to North London so he could finally put some distance between himself and his old life and associates. He moved to North London in 1996 and applied for a place at Middlesex University on the BA Writing and Publishing Studies. He was offered a place and moved into the halls of residence. Floyd completed his degree in 1999 and achieved a 2:1. He is now completing work experience at BBC Radio 5 Live and is looking for permanent work. He has not re-offended or taken drugs since his release from prison. Floyd feels that his time with Insight Arts Trust and his discovery of drama played a very large part in his decision to change. More importantly he felt that the support of Insight staff and friends met through the drama courses helped him through the difficult periods. Without their support Floyd feels he may have lapsed into his old life of drugs and crime. He also feels that education was a major factor in his rehabilitation. Floyd now lives in North London with his long-term girlfriend Anna, who he met at university.

(Case study information taken from an in-depth interview with the author, 20 September 1999, London)

APPENDIX 15

Contact information for companies featured in thesis

Acting Out Company
Tel: 01782 392226
e-mail: saul@dial.pipex.com
Contact: Saul Hewish

Clean Break Theatre Company
2 Patshull Road
London
NW5 2LB
Tel: 020 7482 8600

English National Opera
Bayliss Programme
40 Pitfield Street
London
N1 6EX
Tel: 020 7739 5808
Fax: 020 7729 8928

Geese Theatre Company of Great Britain
Cannon Hill Park
Birmingham
B12 9QH
Tel: 0121 446 4370
Fax: 0121 446 5806

Glyndebourne Education
Glyndebourne
Lewes
East Sussex
BN8 5UU
Tel: 01273 812321
Fax: 01273 812783

Insight Arts Trust
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E1 5NF
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